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**A
HISTORY OF
PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
AT THE MUGHAL COURT**

**WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH
OF URDU LANGUAGE**

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART III.—AKBAR

BY

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نپست زنجیرِ جنون در گودایِ مجنونِ زار
عشق دستِ دوستی در گودانش افکنده ست
(اکبر)

شبنم مگو که بر ورقِ گل فتاده است
کان قطرها ز دیدهٔ وابل فتاده است
(اکبر)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Facing page
1. The courier communicating the news of Humāyūn's fatal fall to the young Prince Akbar	1
2. Arrival of Tān Sēn at the Court of Akbar ...	38
3. Akbar paying a visit to Bābā Hardās ...	39
4. Faizī: the poet-laureate, with his royal ward : Prince Salīm	45
5. Shāh 'Abbās the Great	64
6. Zuhūrī: the famous poet and prose-writer of the Court of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Deccan	181
7. Tulsī Dās: the famous poet of Hindī, flourished at Benares	219
8. 'Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān	220
9. Shaikh Salīm Chishtī at Fathpūr Sīkrī ...	226
10. Abul Fazl: the great historian and General of Akbar	230
11. His Exalted Highness The Nizām: Nawāb Sir Mir 'Usman 'Alī Khān Bahādur, G.C.S.I., G.C.B.E., the greatest living patron of Indo-Persian culture, and the illustrious Founder of the 'Usmāniya University, whose regime has heralded the dawn of new era in the advancement of learning in India	252

	Facing page
12. A page from the <i>Dārabnūma</i> (Artists : Bihzād and 'Abdussamad) 255
13. Illustration from the <i>Bahāristān</i> (Artist : Bisāwan) 256
14. Illustration from the <i>Khamsa</i> (Artist : Muhammad Sharif; Writer : 'Abdur- rahīm) 256
15. A page from the <i>Lailā Majnūn</i> (Artist : Farrukh ; A.D. 1593) 256
16. <i>Nine</i> men rowing in a boat : wall-painting in Akbar's bed-room at Fatehpūr Sikrī 257
17. Rājā Bīr Bal 259
18. Akbar at the shrine of Khwāja Mu'īnuddīn 'Chishtī at Ajmer 262

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
1. Akbar's accession to the throne at Kalā- naur at the age of thirteen : congratula- tory poems	1
2. His birth and plea for names	4
3. His tutors and education	6
4. His taste for Persian and Hindi as compar- ed with Turki	10
5. His liking for Persian poetry, and his own compositions	11
6. His poetical contest with Khān-i-Zamān ...	17
7. His taste for Persian poets	22
8. His literary and poetic wit	24
9. His contribution to Bhākā or soft Hindi, which is but Urdu	27
10. His predilection for Hindi	29
11. Unprecedented patronage to Hindi lore ...	33

CHAPTER II

1. A GENERAL LIST OF THE POETS AND SCHOLARS
OF HIS REIGN UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADS:—

(A) Poets	36
(B) Historians	37
(C) Philosophers, Grammarians, and Traditionalists	37
(D) Physicians	38

	PAGE
(E) Musicians	38
(F) Painters and Calligraphists	39
(G) Distinguished personages of the Court known as the <i>Nauratan</i> (or the nine gems of the court of Akbar)	39
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF FAIZĪ, NAZĪRĪ, 'URFĪ, ZUHURĪ, TULSĪ DĀS, 'ABDURRAHĪM KHĀN-I-KHĀNĀN, AND ABUL FAZL	
2. <i>Faizī</i> : second great poet after Amīr Khusrau	39
3. Sā'ib's glowing tribute	40
4. Badā'unī's view of his literary and poetic attainments	42
5. His great Masnawī : <i>Naldaman</i> ; Badā'unī's estimate of its worth	42
6. His other works	44
7. His style of Persian prose	46
8. His merit and usefulness as a physician	43
9. His library	48
10. Some specimens of his verses	49
11. <i>Rubā'ī</i> (quatrain)	55
12. <i>Marsiya</i> (elegy)	57
13. Character of his <i>ghazals</i>	59
14. His enormous wit and power of composing impromptu poems	63
15. His influence on Akbar, and his father's share in moulding the latter's religious beliefs through the Infallibility Decree of 1579	66
16. <i>Nazīrī</i> : his arrival at the Mughal Court, and his lyric poetry	67

	PAGE
17. Parallel odes of 'Urfī and Nazīrī ...	68
18. Some opinions on the respective merits of the two poets ...	73
19. His poetry influenced by Sufism ...	74
20. Jahāngīr's patronage and appreciation ...	74
21. Some selected odes ...	75
22. Nazīrī : the Qā'ānī of India ...	88
23. His famous elegy on the death of Prince Murād ...	88
24. Nazīrī compared with Ḥāfiz ...	96
25. A summary of Nazīrī's peculiarities of style ...	102
26. 'Urfī : his poetical career at Shīrāz ...	103
27. His arrival and reception at Āgra ...	103
28. He declares <i>ghazal</i> to be his sphere, but attempts competition with Anwarī, Khā- qānī, and Zahir, in <i>qasīda</i> ...	107
29. Some of his best <i>qusā'id</i> ...	109
30. 'Urfī and Zuhūrī in friendly communication with each other ...	173
31. Parallel odes of 'Urfī and Zuhūrī ...	174
32. Faizī's estimate of Zuhūrī and 'Urfī ...	177
33. Badā'ūnī's conflicting remarks about 'Urfī's popularity ...	177
34. His death ...	179
35. His superiority in <i>qasīda</i> ...	180
36. Zuhūrī : his name and birth-place ...	181
37. Early part of his youth spent in Khurāsān ...	181
38. Opinion of the author of <i>Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī</i> about his poetic genius ...	182
39. His poetical contests at Shīrāz ...	183
40. His connection with the court of Shah 'Ababās, the Great ...	148

	PAGE
41. His coming to India : stay at Ahmadnagar and Bījāpur	185
42. Meeting of Faizī with Zuhūrī : their appre- ciation of each other's talents ...	187
43. Badāʿunī and Walih Daghistanī on Zuhūrī's style of prose	188
44. Iskandar Munshī's tribute	189
45. Views of Sā'ib and Ghālib	190
46. Zuhūrī : the saviour of prose	192
47. Āzar's and Īlīdāyet's half-hearted praise...	193
48. His mastery of Persian prose and poetry : an unusual combination of two separate virtues	194
49. Important poetical works	196
50. Peculiarities of his style :—	197
(i) Imagination	197
(ii) Description	199
(iii) Illustration	201
(iv) Homogeneity	202
(v) Simile and metaphor	202
51. Specimens of his <i>ghazal</i>	204
52. Specimens of his <i>Masnawī</i>	207
53. Specimens of his <i>qasīda</i>	209
54. Specimens of his <i>rubā'ī</i>	211
55. Specimens of his <i>tarjī</i> 'band and <i>Muta'iba</i>	212
56. Contrast between Zuhūrī and 'Urīf ...	214
57. His age, death, and character	218
58. <i>Tulsī Dās</i> : his life and works	219
59. ' <i>Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān</i> : greatest patron of Persian poetry in the East ...	220

	PAGE
60. Persia's great tribute ...	221
61. His merits as a poet ...	225
62. Shibli's comparison of the Khān-i-Khānān's ode with Nazīr's ...	228

CHAPTER III

(B) HISTORIANS

1. ABUL FAZL as a politician : his Akbar Nāma, a great political move : its aims and objects ...	230
2. Critical estimate of Abul Fazl's work as a historian ...	233
3. Abul Fazl's birth and his coming to the court ...	235
4. His public policy, character and death ...	236
5. His views on religion ...	239
6. His style ...	239
7. Value of Akbar Nāma as a chronicle ...	243
8. Basis of Akbar Nāma : suggested to be (i) Al-Bīrūnī's India, or (ii) Firdausī's Shāh Nāma ...	244
9. Zafar Nāma as the probable basis ...	245
10. Reasons why Al-Bīrūnī's India and Shāh Nāma cannot be the basis ...	246

CHAPTER IV

1. Akbar's religion, policy, and character ..	247
2. Some literary features of his reign :	252
(i) <i>Khāt</i> (calligraphy) ...	252

	PAGE
(ii) <i>Inshā</i> (letter-writing)	... 254
(iii) <i>Naqqūshī</i> (drawing)	... 255
3. His death	... 258
4. His <i>Nauratan</i> :	... 259
(i) Mullā Du Piyaṣa	... 259
(ii) Rājā Birbal	... 259
(iii) Hakīm Humām	... 261
(iv) Rājā Todar Mal	... 261
(v) Rājā Mān Singh	... 262
(vi) Faizī	... 263
(vii) Abul Fazl	... 263
(viii) 'Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān	... 263
(ix) Mirza Tān Sēn	... 263

CHAPTER V

1. Evolution of Urdu : dispute about its parentage : opinions of European orientalists	264
2. Progress of Urdu in the reign of Akbar : contributions of Tulsī Dās and Sūr Dās	266
3. Contributions of 'Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān, Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānam; Mullā Nūrī, and Sultān Muḥammad Qulī Qutub Shāh	... 269-272
4. Continued process of intermixture of Persian with Hindī and other local Prakṛits gave rise to Urdu	... 276

CHAPTER VI

1. Style of Persian prose at the Mughal and the Safawī Court	... 278
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	PAGE
2. Persia as a source of inspiration to India ...	279
3. Points of contrast between the Persian and the Indian style	280
4. Akbar's reign compared with the contem- porary Persiā	282
5. Causes of the ultimate loss of efficiency in the art of Persian composition in India ...	286
6. Ornate style of prose at the Persian Court	288
7. Taste of the Safawī and the later Persia, and their views on styles	292
8. An English orientalist on Indian apprecia- tion of Persian poetry	300
9. Critical appreciation of poetry in India and Persia	301
APPENDIX A. Persian Text and English translation of the <i>Seh Nasr</i> of Zuhūrī, Part I : <i>Nauras</i> (The New Fruit) 307-345	
APPENDIX B. Persian Text and English translation of Part II : <i>Gulzar-i-Ibrāhīm</i> (The Rose-Garden of Abraham) 347-389	
APPENDIX C. Persian Text and English translation of Part III : <i>Khān-i-Khalīl</i> (The Table of the Friend of God) 391-467	

ERRATA

NOTE.—The kind reader is requested to correct the following mistakes that have crept in notwithstanding the utmost care taken in getting the book printed :—

- P. v, line 2 from last, add ' a ' before ' new era '
- P. 4, line 8 from last, give a comma after ' freely '
- P. 66, F.N. 1, add ' His ' before ' Prophet '
- P. 202, line 10 from last, read ' channels ' for ' channel '
- P. 208, line 7, add ' upon ' after ' played '
- P. 208, line 5, read ' persistently ' for ' consistently '
- P. 227, F.N.1, line 7, add ' who ' after ' *darwish* '
- P. 232, last line, read ' Akbar ' for ' Akba '
- P. 236, line 8 from the last, add ' a ' before ' splendid '
- P. 239, last line, read ' mazy ' for ' many '
- P. 257, line 3 from last, read ' at ' for ' in '
- P. 296, line 3, read ' ; ' for ' , '
- P. 297, line 9, read ' its ' for ' his '
- P. 303, line 2 from last, read ' very ' for ' same '



The courier communicating the news of Humāyūn's
fatal fall to the young Prince Akbar
(*Indian Museum, Calcutta*)

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

PART III—AKBAR—THE GREAT

CHAPTER I

The news of the fatal fall of Humāyūn from the terrace of his library was communicated to the young Prince through an old and trusted servant of the State, Ouchi Kākā, specially deputed for this purpose by Bairam Khān. Humāyūn's swoon (بیہوشی) lasted four days: on the fifth day he expired. Soon after his death, the young Prince, Akbar, destined to become the greatest of the Mughal kings in India in administrative policy and literary patronage, ascended the throne of Hindūstān at Kalānaur in the year 963 A. H.¹

Akbar's accession to the throne at Kalānaur at the age of thirteen: congratulatory poems.

¹ Jauhar gives the date 962 A.H. Cf :

جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ در مقام کلانور بتاریخ سنہ اثنین و ستین
و تسعمایہ پر تخت خلافت تشریف آوردند

[Tazkirat-ul-wāqī'at, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 145a.]

In support of this he also quotes a chronogram which gives the same date (*vide* Part II, *supra*).

It is further supported by the author of *Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh*, Hasan Beg Rūmlū, Humāyūn's contemporary, as quoted by Browne [*vide* Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. 28, fn. 1.]

Although only a boy of thirteen,¹ his name was ceremoniously read in the *Khutba* for the valid recognition of his kingship. As usual, the court poets poured chronograms and congratulatory poems, evincing great literary skill and poetic subtleties. A specimen of each is given below :

از خطبۀ شاه رفعتِ منبر شد
 و ز سکہ عدل کارها چون زر شد
 بنشست به تختِ سلطنت اکبرشاه
 تاریخِ جلوسِ نصرتِ اکبر شد

From the *Khutba* of the Shāh the pulpit was
 exalted,
 And from the coin of his justice, the affairs
 became as gold ;
 The king Akbar sat on the throne of Empire,
 The date of the accession was found in
 'nusrat-i-Akbar' (the victory of Akbar).

گلِ اُمید شگفت و وزید بادِ مراد
 مرادِ خلقِ خدا آنچنانکه باید داد

¹ Cf. the accession of Bābur to the throne of Farghāna and Andijān in the twelfth year of his age. Also, cf. Shāh Tahmāsp's accession to the throne of Persia at the age of ten.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 9.

³ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 244.

ز دستِ فتنهٔ دورانِ جهان بشد ایمن
که بادشاهِ جهان پای بر سرِ پناه

The flower of hope blossomed, and the breeze
of fulfilment blew,
God satisfied the aspirations of the people in
an ideal manner ;
From the ravages of *Time*, the world became
immune,
For the king of the world placed his foot on
the throne.

. He was at this time too young to manage the affairs of the State and to control the critical situation with which he was faced. The supreme power was therefore vested in the veteran hands of Bairam Khān to check the growing peril from Hemū who had conquered the environs of Delhi and was advancing further to seize the throne of Hindūstān. A battle was fought in which Hemū was defeated and taken prisoner. This victory was an achievement of the greatest significance in the history of the Mughal rule as laying the foundation of Akbar's empire firm in India. Amīr 'Abdul Hai *Sadr* composed the following chronogram to commemorate this event :

جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر آن شاهِ فلک رفعت¹
بعونِ لطفِ حق بگرفت هندوئے سیہِ دو را

¹ Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 44b.

دبیر صنع بر لوح بقا با خامه قدرت
 رقم زد بهر سال فتح او بگرفت همورا

Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar is a king of
 celestial dignity,
 Who captured by the grace of God the dark-
 faced infidel ;
 The author of *Nature* on the tablet of Eternity
 with the pen of Power,
 Wrote the chronogram of this victory '*bigrift*
Hemū rā' (captured Hemū).

He was born of Hamida Bānū Begam, daughter of Shaikh 'Alī Akbar Jāmī, tutor to Humāyūn's youngest brother Mīrzā Hindāl. Although she was not of royal blood, her parents bore a distant relationship with Humāyūn's family. This was probably why her father had been appointed by Humāyūn to be Preceptor to Hindāl. It also accounts for the reason why she observed no ceremony with Humāyūn, and appeared before him along with other ladies and gentlemen of the royal house, with whom she mixed freely without formalities. Humāyūn was at this time crownless, and did not command the prestige of a king as he did in his former days. He was a fugitive with but a few attendants crossing the desert of Sindh in 948 A.H., when he was struck with the beauty of this young lady and secured her in marriage. When she and her husband were yet in Sindh, Akbar was born at 'Umarkōt in 949 A.H.

His birth and
 plea for names.

He was given the title of Badruddin¹ (the *Full Moon* of the Faith), for the simple reason of his birth having taken place on the night of the full moon. His name Muhammad Akbar was derived from that of his maternal grandfather, Shaikh Alī 'Akbar Jāmi² (Humāyūn's father-in-law). His title *Jalāl-uddīn* (the glory of the faith) was conferred upon him later, on his ascending the throne at Kalānaur in the fourteenth year of his age.

¹ Vincent Smith has mistaken this title for the name, Cf :

"History knows Akbar only as Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. The true story of the real date of birth and of the original naming is preserved in the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn's personal attendant Jauhar who was present when the name Badruddin was conferred for the reason stated." [Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 19. Second edition, Oxford, 1919.]

Jauhar's diction does not support the above statement of Vincent Smith, and thus exposes the futility of his argument. Cf :

وقت تولد حضرت شاهزاده خلدالله ملکه ماه شعبان شب چهاردهم
روز شنبه بود ماه شب چهاردهم را بدر میگویند پس شهزاده معتمد اکبر
غازی بدرالدین والدینا هر دو عالم افروز در خانه تشریف فرمود و
خطاب جلال الدین و بدرالدین یکو است -

The time of the birth of his royal highness, the Prince, may God perpetuate his kingdom, was Saturday night, the 14th of the month of Sha'bān. They call the moon of the 14th night '*Badr*' (full moon); so the Prince Muhammad Akbar, Ghāzī, the *Full Moon* of religion and the world, illuminator of both the regions, honoured the house. And the title of Jalaluddin and Badruddin is the same. [Tazkirat-ul-wāqī'at, B.M. MSS., fol. 54b.]

² I have no authority to cite in support of this statement either from Persian or English authorities. It is my own surmi which may or may not be credited.

During his father's lifetime he had been put successively under the following six or seven scho-

lars of varied talents to look after his His tutors and education. training :

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| (i) Muhammad 'Alī Taghā'i | } ¹ |
| Mullā 'Isāmuddīn Ibrāhīm | |
| (ii) Maulānā Bā Yazīd. | } ² |
| (iii) Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir | |
| (iv) Mullā Pīr Muhammad | } ³ |
| (v) Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī | |

¹ There seems to be a sort of disagreement between Farishta and Abul Fazl, as to the identity of Akbar's first tutor. The former declares that the first was Muhammad 'Alī Taghā'i who was appointed by Humāyūn at Cābul when Akbar was four years old. Cf :

شہزادہ جلال الدین محمد اکبر چہار سالہ بود..... جنف آشیانی
شہزادہ را با تالیقی محمد علی مغایری در کابل گذاشتہ -

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 448.]

Abul Fazl, on the contrary, states that Mullā 'Isāmuddīn Ibrāhīm was the first Preceptor who was appointed when Akbar was 4 years, 4 months, and 4 days old, and had just started on his educational career. Cf :

و ہفتم شوال این سال کہ از عمر ابد پیوند حضرت شامنشاهی چہار
سال و چہار ماہ و چہار روز شدہ بود.... در مکتب بشری در آوردند و ما
عصام الدین ابراہیم را باین خدمت گرامی شرف اختصاص بخشیدند

[Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 270.]

² Ibid., pp. 316-317.

³ Cf :

جنف آشیانی میر عبداللطیف قزوینی واکہ بعد از ما پیر محمد
معلم پادشاه شدہ بود نزد بیروم خان ترکمان فرستاد -

Farishta, Vol. I, p. 469.]

(vi) Bairam Khān.¹

Mullā 'Isāmuddīn had a passion for pigeon-flying and on persistent complaints being made that the young Prince was also growing increasingly fond of the same, Humāyūn dismissed the Mullā and appointed Maulānā Bā Yazīd as his successor. The young Akbar still remained as averse to book-learning as ever, and showed greater zeal for riding, arrow-shooting, and other sports than the dry schooling of his preceptor. This office was afterwards transferred to others, but none benefited the truant boy who successfully resisted all attempts of his tutors to impart him book-learning. In fact he was at this time too young to enter into any real systematic education under these men. Besides, the continually disturbed and eventful reign of his father, accompanied by the frequent compulsory separation of the young Prince, had hardly left a breathing interval for Humāyūn to make any satisfactory arrangement for his son's education. When Humāyūn returned from his exile and settled in India peacefully, Akbar was thirteen years old. It was at this time that Humāyūn was comparatively free to pay attention to this affair when all of a sudden he died, and Akbar, who was then under the wardship of Bairam Khān, found himself engrossed with other serious and more urgent problems

¹ Cf :

و بیرم خان را اتالیق شہزادہ جلال الدین محمد اکبر ساخت

[Ibid., p. 459.]. Also, refer Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 355 and Vol. II, p. 93.

than his education. Soon after his accession he made up for all his past deficiency and slackness shown by him in the acquisition of knowledge by causing books on all subjects to be constantly read to him by experts, and himself listening to their contents carefully and assimilating the same. Of such books as were selected for reading he had kept a large variegated stock always ready at hand in his own palace so as to be easily accessible to him at any hour of the day or night. The following extract from Abul Fazl, while giving a detailed list of the books read out to him, throws ample light on his literary taste :

‘و گیتی خداوند از وفور آگهی کتاب خانه را بر چند گونه فرموده ‘برخی درون مشکوی مقدس باشد و لختی بیرون ‘ و هر کدام را چند لخت گردانید ‘ همواره علم علم و نامه نامه را موافق ارزش پایه قرار داد ‘ و از دگرگونی نظم و نثر و هندی و فارسی و یونانی و کشمیری و عربی ترتیبها یافت ‘ بدان نمط بنظر در آوردند ‘ روز بروز کار دانان آگاه دل آنرا بموقف عرض همایون رسانند ‘ و هر کتابی را از آغاز تا بانجام شنوند ‘ و هر روز که بدانجا رسد بشماره آن هندسه بقلم گوهر بار نقش کنند و بعد اوراق خواننده را نقد از سرخ و سفید بخشش شود ‘ کم کتابی مشهور بود که مذکور محفل

همایون نگردد و کدام داستانهای باستانی و غرایب علوم و نوادر حکم که بیاد آن پیشوای دانش منشان انصاف گرای نباشد، از مکرر شنودن ملال نگیرد و بفراروان خواهش نیوشد، همواره از اخلاق ناصری، کیمیای سعادت، قابوس نامه، مکتوبات شرف منیری، گلستان، حدیقه، مثنوی معنوی، جام جم، بوستان، شاهنامه، خمسه شیخ نظامی، کلیات خسرو و مولانا جامی، دیوان خاتانی و انوری، و دیگر تاریخ نامها در پیشگاه حضور بر خوانند -

And the possessor of the world, owing to his considerable knowledge, has divided his library into several sections. A portion of it is inside the royal palace, and some outside it. And each section was divided into several groups. Always he fixed a grade for every science and every book in proportion to its value. And according to the variety of poetry, and prose, and Persian, and Greek, and Kashmīrī, and Arabic, books were arranged. In this order they were brought to his Majesty's view. Every day experienced people of apprised hearts bring them to the auspicious presence, and his Majesty listens to each book from the beginning to the end. And every day when a certain portion is covered by the reader, his Majesty puts a

mark on (or according to) the number of the page by his pearl-scattering pen. And in proportion to the number of leaves read, the reader is rewarded with gold and silver in cash. There would be few famous books that are not read in the auspicious assembly. And what ancient tales and wonders of science and boons of philosophy could there be that are not in the recollection of the leader of the wise, prone to justice. He does not feel vexed at hearing books read over again, and listens to them with increased delight. They always read in his royal presence from among *Akhlaq-i-Nāsiri*, *Kīmyā-i-Sa'adat*, *Qābūs Nāma*, *Māktūbāt-i-Sharaf Muniri*, *Gulistān*, *Hadīqa*, *Masnawī yi Ma'nawī*, *Jām-i-Jam*, *Būstān*, *Shāh Nāma*, *Khamsa-i-Shaikh Nizāmī*, *Kulliyāt-i-Khusrau* and *Jāmī*, *Diwān-i-Khāqānī*, and *Anwarī*, and sundry other works on history.

The rapidly dwindling influence of the Turkī dialect at the Mughal court is more clearly noticeable here than in the reign of Humāyūn. His taste for Persian and Hindī as compared with Turkī. No Turkī work is included in the inventory of books given by Abul Fazl, nor any recorded instance is found of his composing any verse in Turkī, or even reciting one from the works of others. Also, no conversation of his in Turkī language is reported in any of the available histories of his reign. This is due chiefly to his attention being paid from the very beginning to a

more urgent dialect than Turki, *viz.*, the Hindi language, which was gradually coming to the front, in which his achievement and interest form a contrast with those of his predecessors. He was the first of the Mughal kings whose birth took place in India, and whose life, with the exception of a decade of forced exile in his early childhood, practically lived amongst the Indians.

He was exceedingly intelligent and possessed of a fine taste for history, literature, music, and fine arts.

His liking for Persian poetry; and his own compositions, This he developed greatly in the society of the poets and the literati of his court, which shone with greater radiance than that of the Safawi dynasty of Persia and virtually became a centre of learning and of Persian prose and poetry. He also had a strong memory, and committed by heart selected portions of *Diwān-i-Hāfiz*, and Jalāluddīn Rūmī's *Masnawī*,¹ which he greatly appreciated and

¹ Cf :

و از کتب نظم مثنوی مولوی و دیوان اسان الغیب خود بسعادت
ردان میخوانند و از حقایق و لطایف آن التذات می یابند -

[Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 271.]

This point is specially noteworthy as showing his tendency to mystic thoughts in the very beginning of his life. His admiration for Hāfiz and Jalāluddīn Rūmī, the leading mystic poets of Persia, to such an extent that he committed their verses to memory, also goes to prove his own acquiescence in their broad views of life which they expressed in their works, *e. g.*,

حافظا گو وصل خواهی صلح کن باخاص و عام
با مسلمان الله الله یا برهنم دام دام

often recited to himself in his leisure hours. He also read omens in *Diwān-i-Hāfiz* with reference to important personal and State affairs.¹ A few instances

O Hāfiz, if thou desirest union with the beloved make
peace with all grade of people,
With a Muslim say Allāh Allāh, and with a Brahman Rām
Rām.

These broad lessons together with sundry other teachings
like :

ز زهد خشک ملولم بیار بادۀ ناب

“I am disgusted with dry piety, bring pure wine,” which may be called poetic effusions and are confirmed heresies in their plain meaning, seem to have laid a firm hold on Akbar's thoughts, and may be the basis for his subsequent religious theory which he evolved under the name of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. Its basic principles were identical with the teachings of Hāfiz and the theories expounded by Jalāluddīn Rūmī.

Cf : the following instance of his court nobles taking an augury from *Diwān-i-Hāfiz* as to the result of the proposed fight with Sikandar :

و از تفارلت بدیده آنکه جمعی از ملازمان بساط عزت از دیوان

اسان الغیب تفارل نمودند اتفاقاً این بیت برآمد :

سکندر را نمی بخشند آبی بزور و زر میسر نیست این کار

[Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 47.]

This is another noteworthy point showing the extent and the nature of influence that Hāfiz's poetry exercised at the Mughal court in India. Humāyūn was the first Mughal monarch to take to this practice which was continued in his house afterwards. No instance of it, however, could be discovered under Bābur.

of his grasp and power of composing poetry are quoted below :

On one occasion when the news of the flight of his governor of Kashmir with a pretender by name Yādgār Mīrzā, reached his ears, he recited offhand the following verse of his own composition :

کلاه خسروی و تاجِ شاهي

بهر کل کی رسد حاشا و کلا

The cap of royalty and the crown of kingship,
How can they reach a baldman ! never, never !

The following verse is quoted by Abul Fazl as one of his Majesty's best compositions :

بیست زنجیرِ جنون در گردنِ مجنون زار

عشق دستِ دوستي در گردنش افکنده است

It is not the chain of madness in the neck of
poor Majnūn,

It is the hand of friendship which *love* has
cast round his neck.

Again, once in a hunt when his leopard successfully chased a deer, he composed a beautiful verse

¹ *Note.*—Mīrzā Yādgār being bald the word 'kal' is suggestively used. Also note its clever fusion and drift in 'kulāh,' and 'kallā,' amounting to the figures of speech صنم اشتاق and

تجنیس

² Akbar Nāmā, Vol. I, p. 271.

which is quoted by Mirzā 'Alāuddaula Qazwīnī, and is preserved by a court poet in his quatrain:

مطلعي گفت شاه دین پرور
که جهان حسن آن مقاله گرفت
چیتۀ پادشاه کاله گرفت
خون او دشت را چو لاله گرفت

The king, protector of religion, composed a
matla',

That the world talked of its beauty ;

"The leopard of the king caught a black buck,
Its blood covered the plain like tulip."

Once in the year 987 A.H., when he happened to be at Fathpūr Sikrī, he recited in the mosque on Friday before the congregational assembly the following verses which he had composed for the occasion :

خداوندیکه مارا خسرویی داد
دل دانا و بازویی قوی داد

¹ Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 60b.

² 'Alī Qulī, Wālih Daghīstānī, Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 40b. Cf., the statement :

گویند در قنبر روز جمعه غرة جمادی الاول ۹۸۷ هـ بر منبر برآمده
این ابیات خود را بجای خطبه پرخواند

They say that at Fathpūr on Friday, in the month of Jamāda 1, A. H. 987, his Majesty having appeared on the pulpit read out these lines of his own composition in the *Khutba*.

بعدل و داد مارا رهنمون کرد
 بجز عدل از خیال ما برون کرد
 بود وصفش ز عقل و وهم برتر
 تعالی شانه الله اکبر

Badā'uni, on the other hand, declares that the first part of the *Khutba* was written by Faizī. Cf., the statement :

در جمعه غرة جمادى الاول از سال نهم و هشتاد و هفت در مسجد جامع
 قهقور... این سه بیت شیخ فیضی را بعد دیگران نیم تمام
 خوانده از منبر فرود آمدند و امام را بهائى محمد امین خطیب حکم
 فرمودند و ابیات این است -

خداوندیکه مارا خسروى داد دل دانا و بازوى قوی داد
 بعدل و داد مارا رهنمون کرد بجز عدل از خیال ما برون کرد
 بود وصفش ز حد فهم برتر تعالی شانه الله اکبر

(Vol. II, p. 268.)

On Friday, the month of Jamāda, 1, A.H. 987, in the congregational mosque of Fathpūr, his Majesty having half read these three verses of Shaikh Faizī, with the help of other people came down from the pulpit, and ordered Hāfiz Muhammad Amin, *Khatīb* (the preacher), to act as *Imām* ; and the verses are these :

That God Who gave us sovereignty,
 Gave us a prudent heart, and a strong arm ;
 He showed us the path to justice and equity,
 Else than justice He kept out of our heart ;
 His praise is beyond the limit of our understanding,
 Sublime is His position, the Greatest Allāh.

رباعي

از بار گنه خميد پشتم چه کنم

نه راه بمسجد نه کنشتم چه کنم

نه در صفِ کافر نه مسلمان جايم

نه لايقِ دوزخ نه بهشتم چه کنم

That God Who gave us sovereignty,
Gave us a prudent heart and a strong arm ;
He showed us the path to justice and equity,
Aught but justice He kept out of our heart ;
His praise is above wisdom and imagination,
Sublime is His position, the greatest Allāh.

Quatrain

From the burden of sins my back bent ; what
should I do ?
Neither there is way for me to mosque, nor
to temple : what should I do ?
Neither in the row of the infidels nor in that
of the faithful there is room for me,
Neither I am fit for Hell, nor for Paradise ;
what should I do ?

These lines are extremely simple and have nothing peculiar or of high poetic excellence about them worth mentioning. They serve only to show that although he had received no formal education, he did subsequently cultivate a taste enough to appreciate and compose poetry. On another occasion

he sent the following *rubā'i mustazād* of his own composition to 'Abdullāh Khān 'Uzbeg, ruler of Tūrān :

عمرم همه در فراق و هجران بگذشت با درد و الم
 این عمر گرانمایه چه ارزان بگذشت در رنج و ستم
 عمریکه بشد صرف سمرقند و هری باعیش و طرب
 افسوس که در آگره ویران بگذشت با غصه و غم

My whole life passed in separation and sever-
 ance : with pain and grief,
 This valuable life, how cheaply it passed :
 in sorrow and hardship ;
 A life which was spent at Samarqand and
 Hērāt : with pleasure and mirth,
 Alas, that in Āgra it bore out in solitude :
 with grief and sorrow.

His following communication in verse in the metre of his opponent, Khān-i-Zamān,² ruler of Jaunpūr, is a substantial evidence of His poetical contest with Akbar's developed poetic taste which Khān-i-Zamān he had cultivated under the tutorship

¹ Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add 16,729, fol. 40b.

² His real name was 'Alī Qulī Khān. He was one of the grandees of Humāyūn's court. On Akbar's accession to the throne he was appointed a '*jagīrdār*' (governor) of Jaunpūr. Shortly after, he declared his independence and claimed equality with Akbar. In the battle fought in 974 A. H., he was found dead. [Refer, Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, pp. 248 ; 259 ; 268 ; and 289.]

of Bairam Khān and in the society of the great poets of his court. The Khān-i-Zamān on one occasion wrote to Akbar the following :

ای سَدِ سکندرِ زمانه در تو
 یاجوج بود سپاهی لشکر تو
 در دور تو آثار قیامت پیدا است
 دجال توئی خواجه امینا خر تو

O thou, the wall of the Alexander of the
 time is thy door,
 The soldier of thy army is a Gog (devil) ;
 In thy regime the symptoms of the day of
 Resurrection are apparent,

¹ Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 207a.

Note.—This quatrain with a different rhyme and text has been reproduced by Badā'ūnī, and attributed to Subūhī, a poet of the court, who is said to have composed it as a satire upon Khwāja Amīnā, better known as Khwāja Jahān, who was Akbar's minister before Abul Fazl. Cf :

دوین سال خواجه امینا وزیر مستقل ملقب بفراخه جهان در لکهنو
 رئیس مراجعت اردر از بگنه دامی حق را اجابت نمود و صبحی شاعر
 در عین کلانی و بزرگی او این رباعی گفته بود که :
 پراهل هنر سد سکندر درتست یاجوج که گویند صف لشکر تست
 در دور تو آثار قیامت پیدا است دجال توئی خواجه امینا خر تست

[Vol. II, p. 186.]

This statement of Badā'ūnī is somewhat puzzling as the quatrain in both the instances is clearly addressed to some one whose servant or vassal is Khwāja Amīnā.

Thou art *Dajjāl*¹ (a fiend), and Khwāja Aminā .
is thy ass.

To this Akbar gave the following suggestive reply
in the same rhyme and metre :

ای خانِ زمان که پر بود لشکرتو
شد دولتِ من باعثِ کرو فر تو
کمتر باشم ز خرّ دجال امروز
فردا من اگر جدا نسازم سر تو

O Khān-i-Zamān, whose army be full to over-
flowing,
My sovereignty was the cause of thy pomp
and glory ;
I will be less than the ass of *Dajjāl* today,
If tomorrow I do not sever thy head from thy
body.

Khān-i-Zamān retorted with the following :

تا هست اثرِ خالصه در کشور تو
مشکل که بمن جنگ کند لشکرتو
بگذر ز زر و سیم که تا نو کړ تو
از سر گذرد برای سیم و زر تو

¹ Dajjāl is the fabulous impostor who is said to appear at the approach of the day of Resurrection to misguide people, and to oppose Christ who will descend from Heaven to deliver the world from sin.

² Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, fol. 207a.

³ Ibid.

So long as there is any trace of the *Khālṣa*
 army in thy kingdom,
 It is unimaginable that thy soldiery should
 take the field against me ;
 Hence tempt with more lavish gifts of money
 thy mercenary,
 So that he may give up his head for thy gold
 and silver.

To this Akbar gave the following reply :

۱ با آنکه بود خاکِ درم افسر تو
 امروز بمن فرو بیاید سرِ تو
 از دولتِ من هست ترا سیم و زری
 و ز زورِ زر است قدرتِ لشکرِ تو

In spite of the fact that the dust of my door
 is thy crown,
 Today thy head does not stoop to me ;
 From my riches (power) thou hast gold and
 silver,
 And from the strength of that gold is the
 power of thy army.

Khān-i-Zamān yielding at last sent the following
 quatrain :

۲ ای شاهِ زمانِ منم کیس نو کر تو
 و ز ترسِ منی توانم آمد برِ تو
 از دور تو قصدِ کشتنِ من داری
 نزدیک چسان توانم آمد برِ تو

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

O king of the world I am thy humblest slave,
And it is through fear that I dare not come
near thee ;
Even from a distance thou hast the intention
of killing me,

How then can I come near thee ?

Akbar's answer was the following :

گفتی تو چو راستی خدا یاور تو¹
صد رحمت حق بر پدر و مادر تو
تغییر مده تو سکه و خطبہ من
تا من نکنم آرزوی کشور تو

Since thou hast uttered the truth, God be thy
Helper,

A hundred blessings of His be poured on thy
father and mother ;

Do not replace my coin and 'khutba' by yours,
So that I may not long for thy territory.

Besides the above verses there are some others
preserved in his name in the contemporary and later
works.²

¹ Ibid.

² Cf : the following :

من تھوہ نمی خورم سے آرید من چنگ نمی زنم نے آرید
شبنم مگر کہ بر ورق گلنماۃ اسف کن قطرها ز دیدۂ بلبل نقادۂ اسف
(باصی)

دوہینہ بگویی می فروشان پیمانہ می بزر خریدم
اکتوں ز خمار سر گرانم زر دادم و درد سر خریدم

[Ibid., fol. 40b; also Cf : Bayāz-i-Mīrzā Asad Beg Turkman,
fol. 123a.]

He also recited verses from standard poets on occasions to suit his purpose. A few instances are quoted as follows. At the time of vesting power in the hands of Bairam Khān, he recited the following hemistich :

His taste for
Persian poets.

¹ دوست گر دوست بود هر دو جهان دشمن باش

If the friend remains a friend, let both the worlds be enemies.

Another instance is as follows :

² و از عجائب سوانح آن بود که حمید
بهکری بیکی از ملازمان درگاه والا تیر در کمان
نهاده پُر کش کرده بود و آنکس در کمین فرصت
بوده در شکارگاه معروض داشت سطوت جلال
پادشاهی اقتضای سیاست فرمود و از کمال غضب
شمشیر خاصه را بقلیج خان دادند کی این
خود سر بے اعتدال را از بار گردن نجات
دهد مشار الیه دو مرتبه آن الماس پاره را بر او
انداخت و سر موی آزرده نشد و بر زبان
تقدیر بیان گذشت

اگر تیغ عالم بجنبد ز جای

نبرد رگی تا نخواهد خدای

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 468.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 272.

And from among the curious incidents was that Hamīd Bhakkarī had shot an arrow from his bow at one of his Majesty's servants; and this person having been on the lookout for an opportunity made his complaint to his Majesty on the hunting-ground. The kingly wrath was inclined to punish the culprit, and his Majesty in extreme anger gave his own sword to Qulij Khān in order that he might relieve this immoderate turbulent wretch from the burden of his neck. The said Qulij Khān twice struck that *diamond-piece* on the culprit and not even as much as the point of a hair was injured. And on the destiny-relating tongue passed:

If the sword of the whole world moves
from its place,
It will not cut a vein until God desires.

Another instance of the same is as follows :

'روزے قلیچ خان کاردانی خویش گذارش
مینمود برخی دگرگوں میگفتند درین میان از
ریاضی سخن رفت او ازاں حموشیده بدین
آویخت - بر زبان گوهر بار رفت
تو کار زمین را نکو ساختی
که با آسمان نیز پرداختی

¹ Ā'in-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 233.

One day Qulij Khān was dilating on his skill; others were gainsaying it. In the meantime talk turned on Mathematics. Qulij Khān dropping the former topic clung to this one. On the pearl-scattering tongue went:

Well hast thou performed the affair of the
world !

That thou art engaged with the sky as
well.

Like his father he had a critical insight, and made certain agreeable suggestions to the poets and the literati of his court :

His literary
and poetic wit.

روزي قلیج خان دفتري در پیشگاه حضور آورد
و عرض داشت نام این خلاصه الملک نهاده ام
امید که پذیرائی یابد فرمودند که این نام
سزاوار صوبه و سرکار است یا قصبه - همان بهتر که
حقیقه الملک بر گویند

One day Qulij Khān brought a record in the presence of his Majesty, and said, " I have named it '*Khulāsat-ul-mulk*' (the essence of the country). I hope that it will receive acceptance." His Majesty rejoined, " This name is fit for a province, or a district, or

else a town. Better is that it might be named 'Haqiqat-ul-Mulk' " (the reality or the truth of the country).

He also made suggestive remarks on the verses of Persian poets. Some instances are quoted below

روزِ رباعی ملا طالب صفاهانی که در مرثیه^۱
حکیم ابوالفتح و تهنیت آمدن حکیم همام گفته بود
بعرض همایون رسید -

مهر دو برادر که دمساز آمد

او شد بسفر وین ز سفر باز آمد

او رفت بدنبال او عمر برفت

وین آمد و عمر رفته ام باز آمد

فرمودند لفظ دنباله گرانی میکند اگر چنین

بخوانند بهتر باشد : او رفت و ز رفتنش مرا عمر برفت

One day Mullā Tālib Isfahānī's quatrain, which he had composed as an elegy on Hakīm Abul Fath, as also a welcome to Hakīm Humām, was read before his Majesty :

The love of the two brothers came agree-
able to my breath,

That one has gone on his journey, and
the other has come from his journey ;

That one went and behind him went life,
This one came and my departed life came
back.

¹ Ibid.

His Majesty remarked that the word '*dunbāla*' (دنباله) sounds heavy. If it be read thus it might be better :

That one went, and by his departure my
life departed.

روزي بزم آگهي آراسته بود يکي از سرايندگان
همايون محفل اين بيت خواند :
مسيحا يار و خضرش رهنما و همعنا يوسف
فغاني آفتاب من بديں اعزاز مي آيد
بر زبان گوهر بار رفت اگر بجاي "آفتاب من"
"شهرسوار من" برخوانيد سزاوار باشد -

One day an assembly of knowledge was in progress. One of the poets of the august assembly read out the following verse :

Messiah his comrade, Khizr his guide, and
Joseph holding the rein of his steed,
Fughānī, my sun, comes attended with
such honour.

On the pearl-scattering tongue went, "If in place of '*my sun*' you read '*my champion rider*,' it would be appropriate."

¹ Ibid.

Note.—Fughānī was a famous poet who flourished in Khurāsān at the court of Sultān Ya'qūb Hasan, in the first quarter of the tenth century A. H. He was commonly known as Bābā Fughānī and was a contemporary of Bābur.

His taste for *Bhākā*, or soft Hindī, as modified by Persian tone and vocabulary, which is but another

His contribu-
tion to *Bhākā*
or soft Hindī,
which is Urdū.

name for Urdū, is more marked than that of any of his predecessors. While no instance could be discovered of either Bābur's or Humāyūn's Hindī speech, except a Turki-Urdū verse (already quoted under Bābur) Akbar's Hindī conversation and verses have been referred to by contemporary authors.

One instance of the former is partially preserved as follows :

چنین افتاد کہ ہمیں سال در میان خان اتکہ
و ادھم خان نزاعے برخاست ، روزی خان را
بکھڑور در تہ شمشیر کشید و شاہ والا برآشفته
بزبان ہندی فرمودند کہ ای ملچھہ گڈدی تو
کیوں اتکہ مارا یعنی او را از جان بیجان کردی -

And it so happened that in this very year, a quarrel arose between Khān i Atka and Adham Khān. One day he put the Khān to the sword in the royal presence. His Majesty frowned and said in Hindī tongue, "O dirty idiot, why didst thou kill my Atka ?" *i.e.*, rendered him from life to lifeless.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūnī*, MSS., dated, Āgra, 1089 A.H., Jamāda II, fol. 113a (copyist 'Imād Mutasaddī Ilāhdādī).

Note.—It is unfortunate that Abul Fazl has omitted to report the original speech, and has given the translation only. Cf:

و بر زبان مقدس گذشت کہ ای بچہ لادہ چرا اتکہ مارا کشتی -
[Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 175.]

His predilection for Hindi was but natural in his close contact with the Hindūs. He acquired a decent knowledge of Hindi, and listened to Hindi speeches and songs with unabated interest, and himself composed verses in the same. Some instances are as follows :

نزدیکِ مندہاگر کہ دہی است در میانِ آگرہ
و فتکپور عبورِ اشرف اتفاق افتاد و جمعی از نغمہ
پردازانِ ہندی اشعارِ دلغریب را در مفاخر و مناقبِ
خواجہ بزرگ خواجہ معین الدین قدس سرہ
العزیز کہ در حضرتِ اجیر آسودہ اند..... خواندن
گرفتند آنحضرت را کہ جویای حق و حقیقت اند
شوقِ زیارتِ مرقدِ خواجہ در باطنِ مقدس
جوش زد -

Near Mandhākūr which is a village situated midway between the roads to Ajmēr and Fathpūr, his Majesty happened to pass. And a number from among the singers of Hindi songs began to sing elegant verses in glory and praise of the great Khwāja Mu'inuddīn, may God purify his soul, who rests in Ajmēr. An ardent desire arose in the pure heart of his Majesty, who is a seeker after truth and reality, to visit the tomb of the Khwāja.

¹ Ibid., p. 154.

Once he composed a Hindi-Persian verse which is preserved in a court poet's quatrain (already noticed), and is reproduced here for ready reference :

چیتہ پادشاه کالہ گرفت
خون او دشت را چو لالہ گرفت

The leopard of the king caught a black
buck,
Its blood took hold of the plain like tulip.

He was fond of giving Hindi names to his pet animals like elephants, horses, and dogs, in preference to Persian names :

His predi-
lection for
Hindi.

ابوالفضل از زبان گوهر نثار آنحضرت شنیده
کہ میفرمودند آن فیل صحرایی نبود از حکام آن
ممالک سرکشیده برآمده بود - حضرت شاهنشاهی
نام آنرا کھیری سنگھہ نہادند -

Abul Fazl heard it from his Majesty's
pearl-scattering tongue that he said, " That

¹ Note.—The names of the animals 'chita' and 'kāla' are pure Hindi words used in a Persian composition. Their Persian equivalents are 'yūz' and 'āhū.' Still more significant is the 'izāfat' (the sign of possessive), which is placed over the Hindi word 'chita,' to connect it with the Persian word *Pādishāh*. Such relation with a foreign word is not permissible according to the rules of Persian grammar.

² Ibid., p. 233.

was not a wild elephant. It had come away turning its head against the rulers of those countries." His Majesty named it *Kheri Singh*.

Another elephant was named *Bhairūn* :

حکم مقدس بنفان پیوست کہ فیل مست جنگی
از فیلانِ خاصہ شریفہ آورده بآن جنگ اندازند
..... بہیروں نام فیلی آورده بجنگ انداختند -

His Majesty's order was issued that they should bring a ferocious fighting elephant from amongst the royal elephants, and make it fight with that. They brought an elephant named *Bhairūn*, and let it loose for fight with it.

Once two elephants waited in his presence. One bore a Persian name and the other a Hindi. He preferred to ride on the latter :

از فیلانِ نامی خدابخش و بالسندر
در رکابِ دولت جوشان و خروشان بودند
آنحضرت بر فیلِ بالسندر نام سوار شدہ

From among the famous elephants, *Khudā Bakhsh* and *Bāl Sundar* were attending the royal stirrup. His Majesty rode on the elephant named *Bāl Sundar*.

¹ Ibid., p. 234.

² Ibid., pp. 291 and 293.

Again he had a pet dog to which he had given a Hindī name :

و از غرائب امور قصه سگ پادشاهی است
و آن ماده سگی بود مهره نام

And from among the curious affairs is the story of the king's dog. And it was a female dog by name '*Mahwa*.'

He also gave a Hindī-Persian name "*Shaikhū-jīyō*" to Jahāngīr, and another pure Hindī "*Pahār-rāja*" to Murād. Some of his Hindī songs that are unrecorded and handed down to us by tradition only, survive to this day, and are sung at Delhī and its environs in the houses of respectable men on occasions of marriage. The story of their origin is that when Akbar celebrated the marriage of his son Jahāngīr with the daughter of Rāja Bhagwant Dās and shouldered the bridal palanquin to the royal palace, the Rāja sang the following :

هماري بيٽي تمهارے محلوں کی چيري
هم باند گلام رے

¹ Ibid., p. 202.

² '*Mahal*' generally signifies a palace or a mansion; here it stands for female quarters. It was also used chiefly in the Mughal period, as a title for the Queen, or the wives of the nobles; and sometimes to distinguish the Queen's mansion from the rest. Its plural '*mahlāt*' (correct *mahallāt*) was definitely used for the king's wives.

Our daughter is the slave girl of your
royal *harem*,

We are all servitors and slaves.

The reply given by Akbar was this :

تمہاری بیٹی ہمارے محلوں کی رانی
تم صاحب سردار رہے

Your daughter is the queen of our palaces,
You are all potentates and chiefs.

Of the songs thus surviving there is one, sung
from the mouth of the royal bride, which also
portrays some essentials of marriage :

پریت بانس کتا مورے بابل
نی کا مندوا چھراؤ رہے
اوھے اوپر کلس براجے
دیکھیں راجہ راؤ رہے

O papa, get the bamboos over the mountain
hewn,

Erect a thatched stall with reed ;
A crest should adorn it,
All the Rājas and potentates witness it.

From this it might be seen what a natural and graceful turn the Hindi-Persian mixture was taking in the popular taste. The songs of Akbar and the Rāja are but simple and pure Urdū, which is a result of the long-established cross-breeding of

Persian with Hindī. Abul Fazl's remark about Akbar's taste for Hindī is as follows :

’و طبع الھام ہذیر اندھضرت بگفتن نظم ہندی و
فارسی بغایت موافق افتادہ

And his Majesty's disposition, which is susceptible to revelation, is extremely suited to composing Hindī and Persian poetry.

Besides this, the great impetus to public taste for Hindī in his reign was given by his unprecedented patronage to Hindī lore, which led so much fresh stock of Sanskrit and Hindī literature to be transferred into Persian. Some notable productions are

Unprecedented
ed patronage
to Hindī lore.

the following :

- (i) *Razm Nāma* (or battle-book), translation of the Mahābhāratta, rendered by the joint efforts of Badāūnī, Naqīb Khān, Faizī, Mullā Shīrī, Hājī Sultān, and others.
- (ii) '*Ayār Dānish* (Touch-stone of knowledge), translated from Sanskrit by Abul Fazl.
- (iii) *Līlāwatī* (a treatise on Algebra and Geometry), translated from Sanskrit by Faizī.
- (iv) *Rāmāyan* (the famous poem by Vālmīkī), translated by Badāūnī, Naqīb Khān, and Hājī Sultān.

¹ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 270.

- (v) *Sanghasan Battisi* (The thirty-two tales of the throne), rendered from Hindi by Badāūnī and Khwāja Husain Mervī.
- (vi) *Athervan Veda* (a religious book of the Hindūs), translated from Sanskrit by Badāūnī, and Mullā Ibrāhīm.
- (vii) *Nal-Daman*, a masnawi by Faizī, founded on the story of Rāja Nal and Damayāntī in the Mahābhāratta.
- (viii) *Tārīkh-i-Krishn Jī*, translated from Sanskrit by a joint committee of scholars.
- (ix) *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, translated from Hindi, by Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād.
- (x) *Bhagwat Gītā*, translation of a certain section of the Mahābhāratta, not undertaken before, by Abul Fazl.
- (xi) *Jōg Vāshishtha*, a moral and religious dialogue between the two Rishis : Vāshishtha and Rāmchandra, translated by the joint efforts of Naqīb Khān, Mullā Shāh and Abul Fazl.
- (xii) *Kishan Joshi*, translated by Abul Fazl.
- (xiii) *Harivamsa*, translated by Mullā Shīrī.
- (xiv) *Mahesh Mahānad*, translated by Abul Fazl.

This shows at a glance what different groups of scholars, including religious and pious Muslims, were employed in the work of translations. Thus the deep hold that Sanskrit and Hindi lore had

taken on the Muslim taste, and the genuine and wide interest aroused for the study of these languages under the patronage of Akbar, is without a parallel in the history of the Mughal rule in India.

CHAPTER II

The reign of Akbar occupies a long roll of scholars, including poets, historians, calligraphists, philosophers, theologians and those who combined literary merit with administrative capabilities. Besides these, there were at the court, physicians, painters, musicians, and artists of diverse skill and accomplishments.

A general list of the Poets and Scholars of his reign.

The following is a selected list of scholars, of whom only a few marked with an asterisk* are described in these pages. For information on others, refer *Badāūnī*, Vol. III; *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 232—264; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 389—406; *Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āsir*, account of Akbar; and *Ma'āsir-ul-'Umarā*.

A. Poets.— (i) First grade poets :

*Faizī ; *Nazirī ; *'Urfi ; Malik Qumī ; *Zubūrī ; Ghizālī ; Sūr Dās ; *Tulsi Dās ; and *'Abdurrahīm "Khān-i-Khānān."

(ii) Second-grade poets :

Hayātī Gilānī ; Huznī Isfahānī ; Mīr 'Abdul Hai Mashhadī ; Sanā'ī Mashhadī ; Nishānī ; Shakībī Isfahānī ; Bairam Khān ; Māhvi ; Mailī Hirawī ; Rafī'ī Kāshī ; Sairafī Kashmīrī ; Ghairatī Shīrāzī ; Qarārī Gilānī ;

Sanjar Kāshī ; Bābā Tālib Isfahānī ; Qāsim
Arsalān Mashhadī and Kēsar Dās.

B. Historians. *Abul Fazl ; Badāūnī ; Farishta ;
Nizāmuddīn Ahmad ; Shaikh 'Abdul
Haq Haqqī Dehlevī ; Nūrul Haq ; Amīn

Ahmad Rāzī.

C. Philosophers, Gram- Maulānā 'Abdullāh Sultānpūrī,
marians, and " *Makhdūm-ul-Mulk.* "
Traditionalists. Miyān Hātim Sanbhalī.

Shaikh Jalāluddīn Thānesarī.

Shaikh Bhikan.

Shaikh Ilāh Diyā Khairābādī.

Miyān Wajihuddīn Ahmadābādī.

Shaikh Mubārak Nāgorī [a teacher of
Badāūnī].

Miyān Jamāl Khān. Muftī of Delhi.

Shaikh 'Abdunnabī, *Sadr-us-Sudūr*, " *Fakhr-
uz-Zamānī.* "

Shaikh Ahmadī Fayyāz Ambahtiwāl.

Qāzī Sadruddīn Jālandarī.

Miyān Ilāh Dād Lakhnawī.

Mir Sayyid 'Alī Lūdhīyānawī.

Maulānā Jamāl Lahaurī.

Shaikh Sa'duddaula—the grammarian.

Maulānā Ilāh Dād Sultānpūrī.

Shaikh Abul Fath Thānesarī [a teacher of
Badāūnī].

Qāzī Mubārak Gūpāmawī.

Shaikh Husain 'Alī Mūsālī [a teacher of
Abul Fazl and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad].

Qāzī Nūrullāh Shūstārī.

Malik Mahmūd Firārī,
 Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī.
 Maulānā Mirzā Samarqandī [a teacher of
 Badāyūn].
 Maulānā Mir Kālm.
 Mir Fathullāh Shirāzī.
 Ghāzi Jalāluddīn Muḥammīd, "Qaṣṣ-ul-Quzāt."
 Sadr Jahān, Grand Mufti of Hindūstān.
 Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī.

Hakīm Bīmā.

Hakīm 'Alī.

D. Physicians.

Hakīm-ul-Mulk Gīlānī.

Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shirāzī.

Hakīm Misrī.

Hakīm Abul Fath Gīlānī.

Hakīm Humām.*

Hakīm Masīh-ul-Mulk Shirāzī.

Hakīm Fathullāh Shirāzī.

Hakīm Ahmad Tattavī.

E Musicians. Mirza Tān Sēn.¹

Rām Dās Kalāwant.

Subhān Khān.

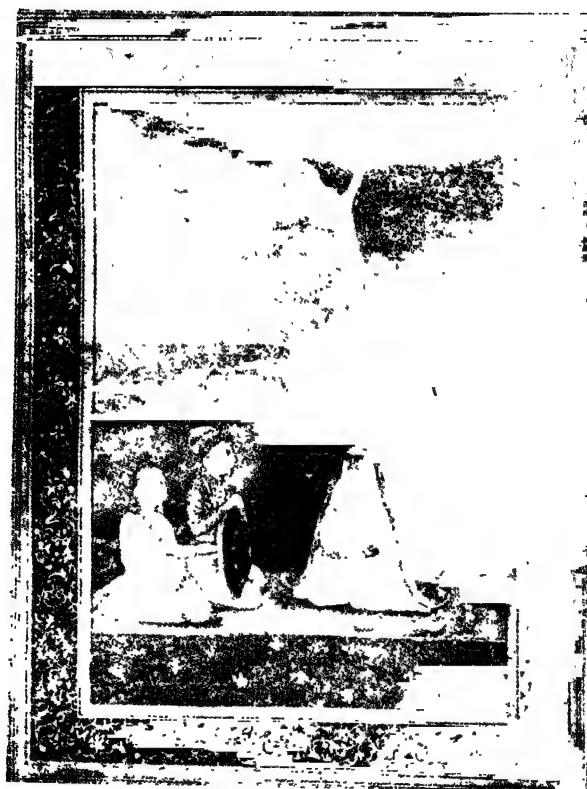
Bāz Bahādur.

¹ He was given the title of "*Mīrās*" on his embracing Islam, and was buried in the Muslim Cemetery at Gwalīār, in 997 A. H. He was at first in the service of Rāja of Rāwah, but subsequently went over to Āgra at the invitation of Akbar. Abul Fazl says that a musician like Tān Sēn has not appeared for the last thousand years. This view is supported by other chroniclers also [*vide* Jahāngīr's estimate of Tān Sēn in *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*].



Arrival of Tān Sen at the Court of Akbar.

Reproduced from the most valuable treasure of Mughal paintings in possession of my worthy friend and colleague Prof. S. S. L. Chordia, M.A., whose generosity in making the portraits available to me for this part, I hereby acknowledge.



Akbar paying a visit to Baba Hardās
(*Kindly lent by my worthy friend and colleague
Prof. Chordia, M.A.*)

Miyān Lal Kalāwant.

Bābā Hardās.

Khwāja ‘Abdussamad; *Shirīn-qalām**;
Nishānī*; Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf*; Das-

F. want Rām*; Muhammad Husain
Painters and Calligraphists.¹ Kashmīrī; *Zarrīn-qalam*; Mir
‘Abdullāh Wasfī, *Haft-qalam*; Miyān
Mauzūn; Ashraf Khān; Harī Bans; Bisāwan;
Miyān Lāl (noticed under Musicians).

G. Faizī; Abul Fazl; Rāja Bir-
Distinguish- bal; Rāja Todar Mal; Mullā
ed personages of the Court Du Piyāza; Tān Sēn; Hakīm
known as the Humām; Rāja Mān Singh; ‘Abdur-
Nauratan (or the nine gems of the Court
of Akbar). rahīm, *Khān-i-Khānān*.

He was the son of Shaikh Mubārak Nāgōrī, and elder brother of Abul Fazl. He occupies the first rank among the poets of the court of Akbar, and is considered to be one of the greatest Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit scholars of the age. The considered opinion about him is that after Khusrau no other poet has since appeared who could compete with him in the mastery of diction, poetic excellence, and sublimity of thought. The great poet, Sā’ib, of

A.
Faizī: second great poet after Amīr Khusrau.

¹ There is a separate treatise giving notices of expert calligraphists under Akbar, by an author who styles himself as Khalīfa Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad *Haft-qalam Akbar-shāhī*. The calligraphists are classed according to their rank in the particular branches in which they excelled [*vide* Or. 1861, B.M. MSS., foll. 45—82].

the court of Shāh Jahān (afterwards *Malik ush Shu'ara* of Shāh 'Abbās II, calls him *Shīrīn-kalām* Sā'ib's glow- (of sweet speech) and pays him a glow- ing tribute. ing tribute in the following verse :

ایں آن غزل کہ فیضی شیریں کلام گفت
در دیده ام خلیده و در دل نشستہ

This is that ode which Faizī of sweet discourse
composed,

It charmed my eye, and stole into my heart.

His other colleagues at the Persian Court equally paid him compliments and recognised his worth and genius as a first-rate poet of Persian language.¹ He was a man of great learning,

¹ Cf., the verses of Alī Naqī Kamra'ī, 'the court-poet of Shāh 'Abbās I, and the chief panegyrist of his Vazīr, "*I'timād-ud-Daula*"—recognising Faizī's greatness as a poet, and comparing him with Zahir and Khāqānī, the two renowned poets of Persia. The first and the third lines are simply an acknowledgment of Faizī's immense superiority over himself, hailing him as his master and admitting himself as his disciple, with a confession that his poetry has had a remodelling effect upon his own composition :

مرا انگند بر نظم اصولم پرتوی فیضی
ابوالفیض آن گزین اکبر و شیع کبیر من
ظہیر قدرة پیشینیاں حتی ظہیرالدین
امیر زبده اهل زمان حقی امیر من
اگر هستم معجز اندر سخن او هستم خاقانی
و گر من مستعجزم آستان او معجز من
کیم با او رسد در شاعری دعوائ هم چشمی
کہ در این خانقاہم من مرید و اوست پیر من

and his poetic qualification was only a secondary virtue. As an Arabic scholar and thinker he was one of the leading men of the age. Badāūnī, who was his father's pupil, pays him a high tribute of praise so far as his erudition is concerned, but condemns him outright for his heretical beliefs. His commentary "*Sawāti'-ul-Ilhām*" on the chapters of the Qur'ān, is a marvellous composition, as showing his wonderful command and power to write out page after page without admitting a single letter with a dot. As a poet of Persian language, which forms the present consideration, he was the most noted among his colleagues, and was appointed *Malik-ush-Shu'arā'* (king of poets) on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of Akbar's coronation in the year 996 A.H. The incident is gracefully described by the poet himself in the following verse of an ode preserved in his *Dīwān* :

آں روز کہ فیضِ عام کردند
ما را ملک الکلام کردند

Also Cf., another poet of Persia, Rasmī Qalandar, writing in a *qasīda* to Khān-i-Khānān that Faizī has captured the seven climes like Khusrau :

ز فیضِ نامِ تو نَبیضِ گُرفت چوں خسرو
به تیغِ هندی اقلیمِ سبعة را یکسر

¹ The rank of *Malik-ush-Shu'arā'* (poet-laureate) under the Mughal rule in India was established by Akbar, and Ghizālī Mashhadī was first appointed to it. After his death, it devolved on Faizī who held it till the beginning of 1004 A.H., when he died.

That day when they showered gifts on one
and all,

They made me the king of poets.

Badāūnī's view of his literary and poetic attainments. Badāūnī's remark about his literary and poetic attainments is as follows :

و در فزون جزئیة از شعر و معما و عروض
و قافیه و تاریخ و لغت و طب و انشا عدیل
در روزگار نداشت -

In the sub-branches of poetry, enigma, metre, rhyme, history, orthography, medicine, and epistolary, he had no equal in the age.

He was the author of 101 works, according to the estimate of Badāūnī and Bakhtāwar Khān (author of *Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam*). Some of his poetical works are as follows :

(i) *NalDaman*. It is a love story of Rāja Nal and Damayāntī written at Akbar's request

His great Mas- in the space of five months, in the
nawī, *Nalda-* 39th year of his reign (A.H. 1003²), and
man; Badāūnī's estimate of its on completion presented to him, who
worth. appreciated it much and ordered its
being profusely illustrated with pictures and
read before him daily. It contains 4,000

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 299.

² Cf., his verses :

سی و نهم از جاوس شاهی تاریخ معجم الهی
چون سال عرب شمار کردم الف و سه الف بکار کردم

verses according to the author's own calculation¹ and is considered by competent judges as one of the best works ever written in Persian verse. It combines the lofty diction of Anwarī, and graceful ease of Hāfiz with the deep pathos of Nizāmī. It begins thus :

ای درتگ و پوے تو در آغاز
عنقاي نظر بلند پرواز

O Thou, in Thy search, still is in the beginning,
The phoenix of sight, which soars high.

Even Badāūnī who seems, on religious grounds, too much prejudiced against him,² pays him the warmest tribute on its production :

والحق مثنوي ست که دریں سه صد سال
مثل آن بعد از امیر خسرو شاید در هند کسے
دیگر گفته باشد -

¹ Cf :

ای چار هزار گوهر ناب کانکيطفة ام باتشين آب

² Cf :

و مدت چهل سال درستی شعر میگفت اما همه نا درستی استخوان
بندی او خوب اما بے مغز مصالح شعر او سراپا بے مزة سلیقه او دروادی
شلهیات و فخریات و کفریات معروف

[Ibid., p. 301.]

Note the inconsistency in his argument in the first sentence and compare this statement with his previous pronouncement (quoted on p. 42, supra) in which he declares that Faizī as a poet was unrivalled in the age judged from all canons of criticism.

³ Badāūnī, Vol. II, p. 396.

And to speak the truth, it is a *masnawī* the like of which has perhaps not been written in India within the last three centuries after Amīr Khusrau.

This is his last work which was finished before his death, and formed the third of the series of *Panj Ganj* (the five treasures), which he had contemplated to write in imitation of Nizāmī's *Khamṣa* but did not survive to carry it out. In the finishing lines he changed his *nom de guerre* from 'Faizī, to *Fayyāzī*.'¹ It was composed to match with Nizāmī's *Lailā Majnūn*.

(ii) *Makhzan-ul-Adwār* (the Centre of Circles) :
a *Masnawī* written after the style
His other of Nizāmī's *Makhzan-ul-Asrār*, and
works. begins thus :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
گنج ازل را ست طلسم قدیم

“ In the name of the Merciful and the
Compassionate. ”

Is an ancient *talismān* for the Treasure of
Eternity.

It was the first of the series of *Panj Ganj*, and

¹ Cf :

زمن پیش که سکه ام سفتن بود فیضی رقم نگین من بود
اکثون که شدم بعشور مرتاض فیاضیم از محتیطا فیاض



Faizī : the poet-laureate, with his royal ward :

Prince Salīm

*(Kindly lent by Prof. A. Qari Fanī, M A
Lucknow University)*

was undertaken and finished in his fortieth year as stated by him in the following lines :

زین مئے بیغش کہ کشیدم بغور
دورِ نکستیں بود از پنج دور
شوق کریں نامہ پرو بال داشت
عقل کمالِ چہلم سال داشت

This pure wine which I drank forthwith,
Is the first circle from the five circles ;
My fond desire has taken wings from this
narration,

My wisdom had the perfection of the fortieth year.

(iii) *Bilqīs-wa-Salmān* : the second of the series undertaken shortly after his first composition as a counter-reply to *Shīrīn-wa-Khusrau*.

(iv) *Tabāshīr-us-Subh* (the sugar or the dawn of morning : is a collection of poems consisting chiefly of *ghazal* and *qit'a* with a few *rubā'iyāt* at the end. In the preface he relates how he was called to the court by Akbar and appointed as tutor to Jahāngīr, and subsequently received the rank of *Amīr* and the title of "*Malik-ush-Shu'arā*" (the king of poets).

¹ Add. 23,981, B.M. MSS., fol. 272a.

He had a graceful style in prose also. The letter which he wrote to Akbar interceding for Badāūnī

His style of prose. may serve as a good specimen of his prose-writing. It is easy in style and

impressive in tone, and is not encumbered with the long train of titles, rhythmic diction, and cut and dry phraseology according to the practice of the age. It runs thus :—

عالم پناها - دریں ولا دو خویش ملا
 عبدالقادر از بدائوں مضطرب گریاں و برہاں
 رسیدند و نمودند کہ ملا عبدالقادر چند گاہ بیمار
 بود و از موعدی کہ بدرگاہ داشتہ مختلف شدہ
 و او را کسانِ پادشاهی بشدت تمام بردہ اند تا
 عاقبتش کجا انجامد و گفتند کہ امتداد بیماری
 او بعرض اشرف نرسیدہ - شکستہ نوازا ، ملا
 عبدالقادر اہلیت تمام دارد و علوم رسمی انچہ
 ملایان ہندوستان میخوانند خواندہ پیش
 خدمت ابوی کسب فضیلت کردہ و قریب بسی و ہفت
 سال میشود کہ بندہ او را میدانم و با فضیلت
 علمی طبع نظم و سلیقہ انشای عربی و فارسی
 و چیزے از نجوم ہندی و حساب یاد داشت
 درہمہ وادی و وقوف در نغمہ ولایت و ہندی
 و خبرے از شطرنج صغیر و کبیر دارد و مشق

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 303.

بین بقدرے کردہ باوجود بہرہ مند بودن ازین
 ہمہ فضایل بہ بے طمعہ ر قناعت و کم
 تردن نمودن و راستی و درستی و ادب
 و نامرادی و شکستگی و گزشتگی و بے تعینی
 و ترک اکثر رسوم تقلید و درستی اخلاص
 و عقیدت بدرگاہ پادشاهی موصوفست و قتیکہ
 لشکر بر سر کوپہلمیر تعین میشد او التماس
 نمودہ بامید جانسپاری رفت و آنجا ترودے کرد
 و زخمی ہم شد و بعرض رسیدہ انعام یافت اول
 مرتبہ او را جلال خان قورچی بدرگاہ آوردہ بعرض
 رسانیدہ بود کہ من امامے برای حضرت پیدا
 کردہ ام کہ حضرت را خوش خواهد آمد و میر
 فتح اللہ ہم اندکے از احوال او بعرض
 اقدس رسانیدہ بودند و خدمت اخوی بر حال
 او مطلعند اما مشہور است - ع

جوے طالع ز خروار ہنر بہ

چون درگاہ راستاں است درینوقت کہ
 بے طاقتی زور آوردہ بندہ خود را حاضر پایۂ سریر
 والا دانستہ احوال او بعرض رسانید اگر دریں
 وقت بعرض نمی رسانید نوعے از ناراستی و

بے حقیقی بود حق سبحانہ بندہای درگاہ را در سایہ
 فلک پایہ حضرت پادشاه بر راہ راستی و حق
 گذاری و حقیقت شناسی قدم ثابت کرامت
 فرماید و آن حضرت را بر کل عالم و عالمیان سایہ
 گستر و شکستہ پرور و عطا پاش و خطا پوش بہزاران
 ہزار دولت و اقبال و عظمت و جلال دیرگاہ داراد بعزت
 پاکان درگاہ الہی و روشن دلان سحر خیز صبح
 گہی، آمین، آمین -

Besides his poetical attainments he was well-versed in Unānī medicine, and used to give lectures on the *Al-Qānūn* of Avicenna for which he had earned a name. He also practised as a physician, and had a charitable disposition, and treated the poor free of charge. The Bayāz of Mirzā Asad Bēg mentions him as a *Hakīm*, and quotes his verses under *Hakīm Faizī*.

His whole life was that of a student, and till late hours of the night he was occupied in reading and writing books. His library which on his death in 1004 A.H., passed to Akbar consisted of 4,600 precious manuscripts on different subjects including philosophy, music, astronomy, mathematics, poetry, medicine, history, and religious literature.

Some specimens of his verses. Some of his beautiful verses are reproduced as follows :

بگذر از عشق که این کار سامان نرسد
آسمان تابع و معشوق بفرومان نرسد

Leave love, for this affair will not come to
anything,
The sky will not submit and the beloved will
not be obedient to thy commands.

بیا که روی دمکرا بگاه نور دهم
بنای کعبه دیگر ز سنگ طور دهم
حطیم کعبه شکست و اساس قبله در بخت
بتازه طرح یکے قصر بے قصور دهم

Come, so that we may turn our faces towards
the arch of light,
We lay the foundation of a new Ka'ba with
the stone from Mt. Sina'i ;

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 239.

² *Ibid.*

F. 7

The four-walls of the *Ka'ba* broke, and the
foundation of the *Qibla* gave way,
Anew we lay the foundation of a faultless
structure.

¹ فیضی کفم تہی و رہ عاشقی بہ پیش

دیوانِ خود مگر بدو عالم گرو کنم

O Faizī, my hand is empty, and the path of
love lies before me,
Ought I mortgage my poetic collection for
the two worlds !

² آن نیست کہ من ہمنفسان را بگذارم
با آبلہ پایاں چکنم قافلہ تیز است

It is not that I leave my comrades,
What to do with those whose feet are blister-
ed, the caravan is apace.

¹ Ibid., p. 240.

² Ibid.

Note.—I insert below Vincent Smith's judgment on Faizī and in fact all Persian and Indian poets that had assembled at the court of Akbar :

" Abul Fazl gives many extracts from the writings of the select 59, which I have read in their English dress, without finding a single sentiment worth quoting; although the extracts include passages from the works of his brother Faizī, the king of poets, which Abul Fazl considers to enshrine '*gems of thought*.' Most of the

ای عشق رخصت است که از دوش آسمان
بر دوشِ خودِ نهمِ علمِ کبریا تو

O love, permit me that from the shoulder of
the sky,

authors prostitute the word *love* to the service of unholy passions, and Faizī sins in that way like others.” [Akbar, the Great Mogul, pp. 415 - 6.]

Vincent Smith was not a Persian scholar and so this remark cannot be considered in any way a sound judgment. It is vitiated by the writer's confession that he has only read the poetry in English translation—surely an unfair test. Even Prof. Browne shrinks from endorsing its harshness, while Blochmann held the opposite view. Panegyric, it must be admitted, bulks too large in the Persian poetry of India, but that fact should not be allowed to obscure the existence of poetry of a really high standard. Most Persian students tend to stop at Jāmī, as Latin scholars tend to regard Cicero, as the final word in Latin style. The result is an *a priori* prejudice against all later poetry or writing. Prof. Browne in the last volume of his history of Persian Literature has dispelled that error as regards Persia, and I have attempted to do the same for India by quoting some of the best passages to be found, leaving judgment to the reader. Some of Faizī's verses on *love* appear in this page and the following. They show that far from defiling the word *love* he has used it everywhere in a sublime sense. (Vide Prof. Browne's view of Vincent Smith's remark, under “Vincent Smith's harsh judgment.” Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. 249.)

Also Cf : Blochmann's view :

“After Amīr Khusrau of Delhī Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizī.” [*Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, English Translation, Vol. I, p. xvi.]

¹ Ibid.

I may place upon my own, the banner of thy
greatness.

فیضی من آن بلند نگاهم که روزگار
پیوسته یافت ساعدِ فکرم بساقِ عرش
آویختند اگر ز در کعبه نظم غیر
آویختم حدیثِ خود از پیشطاقِ عرش

Faizi, I am of such lofty vision that *Time*
Always found the hand of my thought at the
arc of the ninth heaven ;
If others' verses were hung from the door of
the Ka'ba,
I hung my discourse from the arc of
the ninth heaven.

ببارگاهِ قیامت که ماجرا بخشند
گناه کعبه بخاکِ کلیسیا بخشند

At the court of the day of Resurrection when
they forgive affairs,
The sins of the Ka'ba they will forego for the
sake of Christian Church.

رُز نوردانِ طلب زنده بمکمل نرسند
تا نمیرند دریں بکر بساحل نرسند
ناقه شوق دریں بادیه جنباں فیضی
دو که منزل طلبان در حرم دل نرسند

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 241.

Those who traverse the path of love, do not
 reach the litter of their beloved, alive,
 Until they die in this ocean, they do not
 reach the shore ;
 Move thy camel of love in this desert, O Faizī,
 Haste, for the seekers after halting stages do
 not reach the sanctuary of the heart.

چه کششهاست که در زلفِ بتان تعبیه شد^۱
 کز حقیقت دو جهان رو بد مجار آوردند
 What attractions were they that were hidden
 in the curly locks of the beloved !
 That from Reality both the worlds brought
 their faces to the unreal

کعبه را ویراں مکن ای عشق کانبجا یک نفس^۲
 که گهی پسماندگین راه منزل میکنند
 Do not desert the Ka'ba, O love, for there
 one momen^۱
 Off and on, those who lagged behind on the
 way make a halt.

نظر فیض چو بر خاک نشینان فگنم^۳
 مور را مغز سلیمان رسد از قسمت ما
 When I cast my bounteous look at those who
 sit on the dust,
 The ant receives the brain of Solomon
 through our luck.

^۱ Ibid.^۲ Ibid.^۳ Ibid., p. 238.

¹مپرس اهلِ نظر چون بعرش پیوستند

که پا به کنگرُ دل نهاده برجستند

Do not ask how the possessors of sight
reached the ninth heaven ?

Having put their step on the turret of their
heart they jumped over.

²دریں دیار گروھے شکر لبان هستند

که باده با نمک آمیختند و بد مستند

In this neighbourhood there is a group of
people with sugared lips,
Who mixed wine with salt and became dead
drunk.

³نه گویم ای فلک از کج رویهایت تو برگردی

شبِ وصل است خواهم اندک آهسته تر گردی

ز مهتابِ رخس کاشانه من روشن است امشب

اگر وقت طلوعت آید ای خورشید برگردی

I do not say, O sky, thou shouldst turn back
(abstain) from thy crooked ways,

It is the night of the union with the beloved,
I only desire that thou shouldst move a bit
more slowly ;

From the moonlight of his face, my dwelling
is illumined tonight,

If the time of thy rising comes, O sun, go ye
back.

¹ Ibid., p. 239.

² Ibid.

³ Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bāg, MSS., fol. 15a.

نماند گریه شبِ وصل بیقراران را
سهمیلِ طلعتِ آن ماه برد باران را

To the impatient lovers, no tears remained on
the night of the union with the beloved,
The Canopus of the face of that moon swept
off the rain.

خبر برند شبِ عید پیرِ مصطبه را
که راست میکنم امشب قصورِ سی شبه را

Carry the news on the night of 'Īd to the old
man of the tavern,
That I make good the fault of thirty nights
tonight.

'*Rubā'ī*' (quatrain)

فیضی دمِ پیرِ است قدم دیده بده
پا از مژه می نهی پسندیده بده
از عینکِ شیشه هیچ نکشاید هیچ
لخته بتراش از دل و بر دیده بده

Faizī, it is the breath of old age, look before
thou steppeth out,
Thou art putting thy eyelash-like foot, put it
on chosen ground ;

¹ Ibid., fol. 17b.

² Ibid., fol. 18a.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 242.

Through the spectacles of glass nothing is
visible,

Thou shouldst cut a slice from thy heart, and
put it over thy eye.

عاشق که غم از جانِ خرابش نرود
تا جان بود از تن تب و تابش نرود
خاصیتِ سیماب بود عاشق را
تاکشته نگردد اضطرابش نرود

The lover, from whose unhappy life grief
does not depart,

Till life is in him, the warmth and convul-
sions continue ;

A lover has the property of quick-silver,

Until he is dead, his restlessness does not
leave him.

ز آن پیش که کردند شمارِ من و تو
بردند ز دست اختیارِ من و تو
فارغ بنشین که کارسازِ دو جهان
پیش از من و تو ساخه کارِ من و تو

Before this that they took account of me and
thee,

They took away the power from my and thy
hands ;

Sit peacefully, for the Accomplisher of the
two worlds

Has settled the affairs of me and thee, before
me and thee.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

مستانِ الہی کہ دمِ خوش زده اند
بے جام و سبو شرابِ بیغش زده اند
آرایشِ علم و فضل ازیشان مطلب
کیں طایفه در کتاب آتش زده اند

Divine love-drunken, who have breathed a
happy breath,
Have drunk pure wine without the cup and
the jar ;
Seek not the ornament of learning and
accomplishment from them,
For this group has burnt the books.

His *qasā'id* and *qit'a* rank below his *masnawī* and *rubā'ī*, and may be seen in his *Dīwān*.

Faizi's elegiac poemslike his *ghazal* are full of charm and emotion. The following *tarkīb-band*, which he wrote on the death of **Hakīm Fathullāh Shīrāzī**, gracefully exhibits the above qualities with exquisite beauty of language:

دگر هنگامِ آن آمد که عالم از نظام افتد
جهانِ عقل را در نیمِ روزِ علمِ شام افتد
همه گنجینهٔ اقبال در دستِ لیام افتد
همه خوندابۀ ادبار در کاسِ الکرام افتد

¹ Ibid.

² Badāʾunī, Vol. II, p. 370.

حقیقت گم کند سررشته تحقیق مقصد را
معانی از بیان ماند روابط از کلام افتد
زبانِ جہل جنبد بے محابا در سخن رانی
مطالب نا درست آید دلایل نا تمام افتد

گرامی امہاتِ فضل را فرزندِ روحانی
ابو الآبای معنی شاہ فتح اللہ شیرازی
دو صد بو نصر رفت و بوعلی تا او پدید آید
بسے دارد قضا در تہ دکان زیں گونه ہزازی
مبہات از وجودِ کاملِ او بود دوراں را
بدورانِ جلال الدین محمد اکبرِ غازی
شہنشاہِ جہاں را از وفاتش دیدہ پر نم شد
سکندر اشکِ حسرت ریخت کافلاطون ز عالم شد

His most touching elegy is the following which he wrote on the death of his son :

ای روشنی دبدۂ روشن چگونۂ
من بے تو تیرہ روز تو بے من چگونۂ

¹ Bayāz-i-Mīrzā Asad Bēg, MSS., fol. 19a.

Note.—It is regrettable that only one *bund* is quoted in the Bayāz, while the Dīwān is quite silent on the point.

ماتم سراسـت خانۀ من در فراقِ تو
 تو زیرِ خاکِ ساخـتِ مسکنِ چگونـه
 بر خار و خس که بستر و بالینِ خوابِ تست
 ای یاسینِ عذار سمن تن چگونـه
 شد وقت آنکه دبدۀ چو دُل غرقِ خوں کنم
 خونبائـه گره شده از دل بروں کنم
 آن غصـه که پیشِ نـخوردم کنوں خورم
 وای نالـه که پیشِ نـکردم کنوں کنم
 گویند غافلان ره صبر اختیار کن
 چو اختیار در کفِ من نیست چون کنم

Faizī's *ghazals* have a significance of their own and like those of the later poet, Ghālib, have a deeper meaning and thought than are ordinarily assigned to love poems. His distinctive points are easily noticeable when we compare his verses with those of his famous colleague Nazirī, who in his thought and diction remained loyally adhered to the old established rules in all the essential features which a love poem ought to possess. In a word, Faizī's *ghazal*, of which stray verses have been quoted, partakes of the nature of *qasida*, and has a grandeur and depth which do not ordinarily belong to *ghazal*. It appears as if his masterly pen, under the weight of his learning, could

Character
 of his *ghazals*.

not remain confined to the simplicity of diction and the common expression of emotions of love required in a *ghazal*.

The following samples reveal the tenor of his thought and diction :

۱ ما طائرِ قدسیم نوا را شناسیم
 مرغِ ملکوتیم هوا را شناسیم
 برهانِ ثبوتیم ز ما نفی نیاید
 از ما نعم آموز که لا را شناسیم
 در کشفِ حقایق سبق آموزِ ضمیم
 ترتیبِ دلیلِ حکما را شناسیم
 با اهلِ جدلِ نکتۀ توحید نگوئیم
 در وحدتِ حق چون و چرا را شناسیم
 اصحابِ یقینیم گمان را نه پسندیم
 اربابِ صوابیم خطا را شناسیم
 از قافلۀ ما نتوان یافت نشانی
 رقصِ جرس و بانگِ در را را شناسیم
 بر دانشِ ما انجم و افلاک بکنند
 گر صاحبِ لولاک لما را شناسیم

¹ *Diwān-i-Faizl*, MSS., fol. 51a.

وله

(بهارز معری فرماید)

ای قَدِ نیکوی تو سرورِ رواں
 وی خَمِ ابروی تو شکلِ کماں
 حلقهٔ گیسویِ تو دامِ جنون
 طرهٔ هندویِ تو کامِ جنان
 هم لبِ جادویِ تو آبِ حیات
 هم خطِ دلجویِ تو خضرِ زمان
 آمده آهویِ تو عینِ بلا
 کشتهٔ آهویِ تو شیرِ زیار
 بستهٔ گیسویِ تو فیضی زار
 خستهٔ هندویِ تو خلقِ جهان

¹ Ibid., fol. 57b.

Note.—Mahvī was a second-grade poet of Persian language at the court of Akbar. It appears that Faizī wrote this *ghazal*, probably in his younger days, in the manner and style of Mahvī's following ode :

ای رخِ زیبایِ تو رشکِ سمن قامِ رَمَایِ تو سرورِ دامن

[Diwān-i-Mahvī, MSS., fol. 76a.]

Some of his *ghazals* are descriptive and conform to the nature of *masnawī*. A specimen is quoted below :

۱ باز یارانِ طریقت سفرے درپیش است
 رہ نوردانِ بلا را خطرے درپیش است
 کس نمی گویدم از منزلِ اول خبرے
 صد بیابانِ بگذشت و دگرے درپیش است
 ہرہانِ این ہمہ نومید نباشید از من
 کہ دعائے سکرم را اثرے درپیش است
 مانہ آنیم کہ نادیدہ قدم بگزاریم
 شکر کن قافلہ را راہبرے درپیش است
 اے صبا بر سرِ آفاق گلِ مژدہ بریز
 کہ شبِ تیرہ ما را سحرے درپیش است
 فیضی از قافلہ کعبہ رواں بیروں نیست
 این قدر هست کہ از ما قدرے درپیش است

A later Indian biographer estimates the number of Faizi's *ghazals* at 179, which, taken at an average of 11 lines per *ghazal*, works out into about 2,000 verses excluding *qit'a* and *rubā'i*. I have so far not been able to trace any good copy of his *diwān*. The one with me at present is both badly written and incomplete, and contains all kinds of poetry : *qasida*, *ghazal*, *rubā'i*, *masnawī*, and *qit'a*. On the

¹ Ibid., fol. 23a.

title page the following significant verse appears in *naskh* character :

هر نکه که می ریخت ز نوکِ قلم
معنی ز خدا بود عبارت از من
Every dot which proceeded from the point
of my pen,
Its meaning was from God, and its diction
from me.

This verse of Faizi clearly shows that he was conscious of his greatness as a poet, and knew the value of his poetry perhaps more than any one else did. In another verse, which occurs in a *qit'a*, at the end of the manuscript, he makes a confession that he was a follower of Abul Faraj Rūnī :

ذوقی که توان گرفت از شعر
از شعر ابوالفرج گرفتم

The taste (benefit) that could be derived from
poetry,
I drew from the poetry of Abul Faraj.

Faizi's enormous wit and his extraordinary power of composing poems on the spur of the moment

His enormous wit and power of composing impromptu poems. and reciting them offhand straight from memory, whenever occasion arose, stand unchallenged in the whole history of Persian poetry in India.

Of the several instances two are quoted here to demonstrate his poetic greatness and wit, not only in India among his colleagues, but in Persia as well.

Once, an ambassador from Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, who was a contemporary of Akbar, arrived at the Mughal Court at Āgra. He was accompanied with personal letters of friendship, and rich presents for Akbar from the Shāh. One of the letters bore the following quatrain from the pen of Mullā Wahid, the famous poet of the Persian Court. It was read out when the royal gifts were presented to Akbar :

زنگي بسپاه و خيل و لشکر نازد¹
 رومي بسنل و تیغ و خنجر نازد
 اکبر به خزینۀ بر از زر نازد
 عباس به ذوالفقار حیدر نازد

Zangī prides upon his army, horse, and foot,
 Rūmī boasts of his spear, sword, and dagger ;
 Akbar is proud of his treasure full of gold,
 The pride of 'Abbās is the sword of 'Alī.

The court that day, according to the Mughal custom of reception of ambassadors, was attended by the nobility, Ministers of the State, chief poets, Munshis, and men of letters. The quatrain of the Persian poet was a direct hit at Akbar, which the whole court felt. Akbar glanced at Faizi, who

¹ Bayāz-i-Mīrzā Asad Bēg Turkman, MSS., fol. 76b, ut supra.



Shāh 'Abbās the Great
(*British Museum*)

at once came forward and gave the following extempore reply in the same strain :

‘فردوس بسلسبیل و کوثر نازد
 دریا به گهر - فلک به اختر نازد
 عباس به ذوالفقار حیدر نازد
 کونین نه ذاتِ یاکِ اکبر نازد

Paradise prides on its streams : *Salsabil* and
Kausar,

The sea boasts of its pearls, the sky of its
 stars ;

‘Abbās takes pride in the sword of ‘Alī,
 The object of pride to both the worlds is the
 pure *self* of Akbar.

The whole court was amazed at this wonderful feat and burst into praise for Faizi, who rose considerably in the estimation of Akbar.

At another time when Akbar had entrusted Abul Fazl with the translation of the Bible into Persian, the latter put in the beginning : *ای نامِ ری جبر کرس تو* : which rhymed as a hemistich. Faizi hearing it at once uttered the second hemistich : *سبحانک لا سوا یاعی* : supplementing the first. His ready repartees are also quoted by later and contemporary authors as showing great command of wit and the presence of mind. On one occasion the *Ulamā* of the court criticised

¹ Ibid., fol. 77a.

² Badaūnī, Vol. II, p. 260 [*i.e.*, Thou whose name is Jesus Christ].

³ Holy art Thou (O God), there is none but Thee.

his *Tafsīr*, declaring it to be an innovation and against the traditions of Islām, on the ground that no one from among the devout ever attempted to write a commentary of the Qur'ān omitting the use of the dotted letters. To this Faizī at once replied that the very formula of Islām :

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

was without dotted letters.

Like his brother Abul Fazl, he had a considerable influence on Akbar, and is said to be among those responsible for moulding the latter's religious beliefs. The family was distinguished for their erudition and both the brothers were the sons of a worthy father, whom Badāūnī styles as '*Alam-ul-'Ulamā* (the most learned of the learned), who in collaboration with others,² drew up the famous *مضمر نامه* or the *Infallibility Decree*,³ by virtue of which Akbar's position as *Imām-i-Ādil* (religious head of his Muslim subjects) was recognised in the whole of his protected

His influence on Akbar, and his father's share in moulding the latter's religious beliefs through the Infallibility Decree of 1579.

¹ There is no God, but God and Muhammad is Prophet.

² The other signatories were : (i) Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, (ii) Shaikh 'Abdunnabī, (iii) Qāzī Jalāluddīn, (iv) Sadr Jahān, (v) Ghāzī Khān Badakshi.

³ Badāūnī, Vol. II, p. 271.

Note.—Badāūnī, as an outsider, held it as a religious pronouncement, and did not take into consideration its political significance. For discussion on this point *vide* Buckler's article "A New Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579." J.R.A.S., October, 1924.

dominions. In other words, the religious and temporal powers were united in his person, and his authority was placed above that of the *Mujtahid* or the learned body of jurists within the state, thus leaving him free to adopt or reject the views of any group of '*Ulamā* on matters of religion.

His real name was Muhammad Husain and *Naziri* was his pen-name. He belonged to Nīshāpūr

Naziri : his
arrival at the
Mughal Court,
and his lyric
poetry.

and after spending some years in the literary pursuits in his native town, he repaired to Kāshān, where he came in contact with several leading poets of Persia who were living there at that time. Gifted as he was with poetic genius, he soon took his role as a poet in their company,¹ and began to write verses with a Sūfistic touch in the manner and style of Hāfiz. At this time the fame of the *Khān-i-Khānān*'s poetic appreciation and liberal patronage to poets was rife in Persia, and this was apparently the greatest attraction and incentive for the young poet to seek his fortune in India. He consequently left Kāshān and came to Āgra in about 991 A.H., and attached himself to the Court of the *Khān-i-Khānān*.

On his arrival at Āgra towards the close of the day, he sat down at night to write a *qasida* in praise of

¹ Shibli has quoted from *Ma'āsir-Rahimī* the names of the poets with whom Naziri contested, together with the odes which he composed to their admiration (*vide* Shi'r-ul-'Ajam, Vol. III, p. 134).

the Khān-i-Khānān, which he finished before dawn, and went with it as his present to meet the Amīr at daybreak. He was well received by the latter, who also introduced him into the Court of Akbar, but seeing no special attention of the king paid towards himself, Nazīrī, after some time, ceased attending the royal court, being fully satisfied with the generosity and patronage of the Khān-i-Khānān. After the death of Akbar in 1014 A.H., when Jahāngīr ascended the throne, Nazīrī wrote a marvellous *qasīda* rivalling Anwarī's, and presented it to the Emperor, who gave him a robe of honour, and a purse of one thousand rupees in reward. In India he had poetical contests with his colleagues Anīsī, 'Urfī and Shaktībī, and his contemporaries in Deccan, Malik-Qūmī and Zuhūrī, of the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr. He is the chief lyric poet of the time of Akbar, and stands out as such among all his contemporaries in India and Persia. Some speci-

Parallel odes of 'Urfī and Nazīrī, mens of his poetry, with corresponding parallels from that of his arch rival 'Urfī, are quoted below :

¹ Cf. Jahāngīr's statement :

نظیری نیشاپوری که در فن شعر و شاعری از مردم قرار داده بود..... قبل ازین طلبیده بودم - درین ولا آمده ملازمت کرد - قصیده انوری را که ع باز این چه جرانی و جمال ست جهان را - تتبع نموده قصیده بجهت من گفته بود گنزانید هزار روپیہ و اسب و خلعت بهمان این قصیده بدو مرحمت نمودم -

ترا بکعبه مرا کار با دل افتاد است
 بکعبه بتکده من مقابل افتاد است
 صدای بے جرس ار بشنوی غریب مدام
 که روح ماست بدنبال محکم افتاد است
 بعزم کعبه کنید انفاق خلوتیان
 که پیر صومعه را بار در گل افتاد است
 حریف بین چه براحات بساط می چند
 به نیره بازی افلاک غافل افتاد است
 حریم خاک چو قربان گه منا دیدم
 که هر طرف نگری صید بسمل افتاد است
 مگر دان سبک سیر از جہاں رفتند
 گهر بقعر یم و خس بساحل افتاد است

چگونه گریه بجوشد که چشم حیرانم
 بآفتاب قیامت مقابل افتاد است
 بدیر میرویی ای کعبه جور هت فریاد
 که مسیت خوانی و آتش به محکم افتاد است
 طواف کعبه مبادا که نا اُمید شوم
 مدد کنید که جماره در گل افتاد است
 دلم بقبله اسلام مایل افتاد است
 صنم تراش من از کفر غافل افتاد است
 مرا معامله در کوچه ایست با مرهم
 که صد مسیح بیک زخم بسمل افتاد است
 ز بار درد سبک مایه دان شهیدان را
 که در محیط محبت بساحل افتاد است

'Urfi

ز جگرِ جوہِ کریمی کہ تشنه در طلب است
 هزار پایہ گلہ تر ز سایل افتاد است
 باستانِ محبت شہید شد عرفی
 برهنہ بدرِ کعبہ بسمل افتاد است

ولہ

گلرخان محنتِ نایاب بیابند مگر
 یکنفس چاک بہ بینند گریبانے چند
 چند بے بہرہ شود دیدہ گریانے چند
 زلف جمع آر کہ جمعند پریشانے چند
 کبریا ئی تو ہر نام کہ نیارد بنظر
 مستیِ آلودہ آلائش دامانے چند
 عرفی افسانہٴ ما گوشِ کتمانِ حلقہ زند
 خزانِ بیاری کہ جمع آمدہ مہمانے چند

Naziri

گدای پیرِ معان شو کہ پادشاہ و فقیر
 بر آستانہٴ میخانہ سایل افتاد است
 ضررِ بصالِ نظیری پیش بینِ نرسد
 کہ او ہوادِی و رختش بمنزل افتاد است

ولہ

پردہ برداشۃ ام از غہ پنہانے چند
 برباں میروہ امروز گریبانے چند
 سرو سامانِ سخن کردنِ این جمع نیست
 پہلو من بنشانید پریشانے چند
 برِ عشوتِ طلبی لختِ دل آرم بیروں
 چیدہ ام از گلِ این بادِیہ دامانے چند
 چشم بر فیضِ نظیری ہمہ خورباں دارند
 کاسہ در پیش گدا داشۃ سلطانے چند

ولہ

غبار از دل بمژگاں رویم و بینم نشانش را
 بہ آب دیدہ شویم خاک و جویم آستانش را
 زمستہاے شوق آن بلبلِ شوریدہ احوال
 شناسد کہ اگر صد بار بیند آشیانش را
 نظیری قائلے دارد کہ آمرزیدہ میگرد
 سگاں از کوئے او گر بگذراند استخوانش را

ولہ

گرفتہ آنکہ شب در خواب کردم پاسبانش را
 ادب کے میگذارد تابوسم آستانش را
 برآمد جان ز تن و آن زلف میجوید جوآن مرغے
 کہ از دامے شود آزاد و جوید آشیانش را
 صبا از کوی لیلی گر وژد بر تربتِ مکنون
 کند آتش فشاں چوں شمع مع استخوانش را

Of the following parallels, 'Urfr's ode in full, consisting of 7 verses, is reproduced to match with Naziri's 7 out of 9 :

Naziri

هر کس شہید آن مرہائے دراز نیست
 دہ شرح بر جنازہ آنکس نماز نیست

'Urfr

حسنت نیازمند تشائے ناز نیست
 اما ز فوقِ جلوہ خلود بے نیاز نیست

دایم کسان کشی بکیم گه نشسته است
 آن طاق ابرو از گرہ فتنه باز نیست
 عاشق وفا نماید و معشوق سرکشی
 حسن از حجاب خالی و عشق از نیاز نیست
 محکوم را اگرچه جہاں زیر خاتم است
 جائے بہش ز گوشہ چشم ایاز نیست
 معذورم از ضعیف و جگر خسته مانده ام
 در عرصہٴ یوم کہ بجز شاہباز نیست
 مارا چه اعتبار و اثر با وجود دوست
 جائے کہ جلوہ کرد حقیقت محار نیست
 یار از غرور مست و نظیری بکون اسیر
 بیچارہ دل کہ هیچکس چارہ ساز نیست

آرایش وجود قبول حوادث است
 زانسو گذر مکن کہ در فتنہ باز نیست
 لفظیست خوشدلی کہ ز معنیست نا امید
 اندوہ معنی کہ بہ لفظش نیاز نیست
 پیمان سعی مگسل اگر کار مشکل است
 رہ رو ملول اگر نشود رہ دراز نیست
 دایم دلم ز نعمت دریافت خوشتر است
 ایس موم را ز آتش دوزخ گداز نیست
 مغرور بد گھر شکند نان امتیاز
 والا گھر و طیفہٴ خور امتیاز نیست
 عربی تمیز نیک و بد از خود فروتنی است
 ہرجا رعوتے نبود احتراز نیست

The striking peculiarities of the two poets are respectively ease and flow in the one, and thought

in the other. Sā'ib, the poet-laureate of the court of Shāh 'Abbās II, may be quoted as the best judge of Nazirī's and 'Urfī's poetic powers. He says :

صائب چه خیال است شوی همچو نظیری

عرفی به نظیری نرسانید سخن را

O Sā'ib, thinkest thou that thou shouldst rival Nazirī !

'Urfī did not approach Nazirī in discourse.

This not only reveals Nazirī's superiority to 'Urfī, but also manifests Sā'ib's own feeling of inferiority to him. Mirzā Jalāl Asir, another poet of the later period, goes much further than this, and says :

همچشمی نظیری حدِّ بشر نباشد

Equality with Nazirī is not within the reach of man.

Mirzā Ghālib also, a distinguished poet of the 19th century, considers it a difficult task and an enterprise to write odes after the manner and style of Nazirī in the following verse :

جوابِ خواجه نظیری نوشته‌ام غالب

خطا نموده‌ام و چشمِ آفرین دارم

I have written a reply to Khwāja Nazirī, O Ghālib,

I have made a mistake, yet I hope to be praised.

The Persian biographer, 'Alī Qulī Dāghistānī, observes as follows :

مولانا نظیری نیشاپوری خاقان اقلیم
 سخنوری پایۂ سخن را بجای رسانیده کہ
 شہباز خیال را با ہزار پرو بال در آن عرصہ مجال
 پرواز نیست

Maulānā Nazīrī Nishāpūrī, king of the region of eloquence, has made the foot of discourse reach so high that the royal falcon of thought, in spite of a thousand wings and arms, has not the daring to soar in that expanse.

A contemporary biographer, Shaikh Muḥammad Ghausī Mandwī, a teacher of Nazīrī in Arabic, and author of *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, writes to say that Nazīrī in the latter part of his life took his residence permanently at Ahmadābād, Gujarāt, where he devoted himself to religious studies, and his poetry became greatly influenced by Sūfism.

Jahāngīr specially invited him to his court, in 1014 A.H., and rewarded him with a robe of honour and rich presents for a '*qasīda*' which he wrote rivalling Anwarī's. On another occasion at Jahāngīr's request to write a suitable inscription for a

Jahāngīr's
 patronage and
 appreciation.

¹ Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,739, fol. 459.

building, he wrote the following *qasida* for which he was rewarded with a 'Jāgīr' :

ای خاکِ درت صندلِ سرگشته سراں را¹
 بادا مزه جاروبِ رخت تاجوران را

O thou, the dust of thy door is the *sandal*
 for the heads of the wanderers,
 May the eyelashes of the crowned kings
 serve as a broom for thy path.

Taqi Auhadī, author of the '*Urafāt-ul-Āhiqīn*', says that when he was staying in Gujarāt in 1020 A.H., he met Nazirī who had the same year received the poetic collections of Malik Qumī and Zuhūrī from Brjāpūr, and had composed counter-replies to their odes. He was the most religious of all his colleagues at the Mughal court, and after making his due pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1002 A.H., he spent the remainder of his life in retirement and religious study at Ahmadnagar, where he breathed his last in 1003 A.H. There is a thoughtful discussion on his style and peculiarities of composition in Shi'r-ul-Ājam, Vol. III, pp. 145—164.

Some select-
ed odes :

Some of his most beautiful odes are
as follows :

چشمش براھے میروں مژدگانِ نمناکش نگر²
 در سینه دارد آتشے پیراغنِ چاکش نگر

¹ Kulliyāt-i-Nazirī, MSS., fol. 43a.

² Dīwān-i-Nazirī, King's College Library, Cambridge MSS., 165.

دامے کہ زلف انداختہ در گردنِ سیمینش بین
 خونے کہ مژگن ریختہ بر دامنِ پاکش نگر
 شرم از میان برخاستہ مهر از دہاں برداشته
 گفتار بے پرسش بہ بین رفتارِ بیباکش نگر
 از کویِ معشوق آمدہ شوریدگان در حلقہ اش
 از صیدِ آہو میرسد شیراں بفتراکش نگر
 دل بردہ در دل باختن معشوقِ عاشق پیشہ بین
 بگرفتہ در انداختن بازوی چالاکش نگر
 وحشی غزالی کز صبا رم در بیابان میخورد
 رامِ نظیری میشود در ہوش و ادراکش نگر

With his¹ gaze riveted on the road he travels,
 look at his wet eyelashes,
 In his breast burns a fire, see his torn
 garment ;
 The net which his curly locks spread, see
 it round his own silvery neck,
 The blood which his eyelashes dropped, see
 on his own pure skirt ;
 Shyness has disappeared from him, the seal
 is broken from his mouth,
 See he talks to himself, observe his bold and
 fearless gait ;

¹ *Love* is often treated in Persian poetry as an ideal, and is then referred to in masculine terms just as Cupid is treated in English poetry.

He has returned from the street of the sweet-
heart, the lovers surround him,¹
From the hunt of a deer he returns, see
lions in his saddle-strap ;
He took away a heart in the game of losing
his own, see the loved one of the calling
of love,
He won a heart in surrendering his own, see
the skill of his arm ;
The wild deer which takes its flight in the
forest even from the tremor of the wind,
Becomes tame to Nazīrī in all its sense and
consciousness, behold !

ز بیداد تو حرفِ مهر را نام و نشان گم شد
کتابِ حسن را جزو محبت از میان گم شد
متاعِ دیر اگر داریم بر ما رد مکن زاهد
بعزمِ کعبه میرفتیم راهِ کاروان گم شد
چنان برهم زدی هنگامهٔ شورِ قیامت را
که اکثر نامهٔ اعمال مردم از میان گم شد
اگر پرسد کسی حالِ نظیری را بگوئیدش
که در دامش شد آن مرغی که شب از آشیان گم شد

¹ The description is of a young beauty who loves some one and is loved by others.

² *Diwān-i-Nazīrī*, ut supra.

Although I was from head to foot penitent
for my sins,
Through shame of my sinfulness I kept my
lips shut from seeking forgiveness.

۱ چه خوشست از دو یکدل سه حرف باز کردن
سخن گذشته گفتن گله دراز کردن
اثر عتاب بردن ز دل هم اندک اندک
به بدیه آفریدن به بهانه ساز کردن
تو به خویشتن چه کردی که بما کنی نظیری
مکدا که لازم آمد ز تو احتراز کردن

How happy it is for the two united hearts
(friends) to initiate a discourse together !
To talk of the past occurrences, to enter into
long complaints !
To wipe off slowly the effects of anger from
each other's heart,
With ready-made excuses seeking for re-
union ;
What hast thou done for thy ownself, Naziri,
that thou wouldst do to us ?
I swear by God that it has become incumbent
to avoid thee.

تَرَا بَكْعَه مَرَا كَار بَا دَل اُفْتَاد اِسْت
بَكْعَه تَبَكْدَه مَن مَقَابِل اُفْتَاد اِسْت

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

صدای بے جرس از بشنوی غرب مدان
کہ روح ماست بدنبال محمل افتاد است

بعزمِ کعبہ کنید اتفاق خلوتیاں
کہ پیرِ صومعه را بار در گلِ افتاد است

نہ کج ز مستیِ مے کردہ قبلہ بادہ فروش
دلش بگوشہٗ میخانہ مایل افتاد است

شکستہٗ بر ورقِ جبہءِ تو خامہٗ حکیم
کہ ابروانِ ترا عقدہٗ مشکل افتاد است

جریمِ خاکِ چوں تَرِباں گہِ منا دیدم
کہ ہر طرفِ نگری صیدِ بسمل افتاد است

یکے بگورِ عزیزانِ شہرِ سیرے کن
ببین کہ نقشِ املہا چہ باطل افتاد است

مجردانِ سبکِ سیر از جہاں رفتند
گہرِ بقعرِ ہم و خسِ بساحلِ افتاد است

گدایِ پیرِ مغاں شو کہ پادشاہ و فقیر
بر آستانہٗ میخانہٗ سایلِ افتاد است

ضررِ بمالِ نظیریِ پیشِ بینِ نرسد
کہ او بوادِی و رختش بمنزلِ افتاد است

Thy affair has fallen with the Ka'ba while
mine with my own heart,
My idol-temple is face to face with the Ka'ba ;
If thou hearest the sound of the *caravan*
without bells, do not consider it strange,
For it is our soul that follows the beloved's
litter ;

O ye, who reside in seclusion, resolve on a
visit to the Ka'ba together,
For the old man of the tavern with his burden
has fallen into the mud ;

The wine-seller has not changed the direction
of the Ka'ba through the intoxication of
wine,

His heart is inclined towards a corner of the
tavern ;

The sanctuary of earth I saw like the ground
of *Minā*, where sacrificial offerings are
made,

For in whatever direction you glance, a prey
is in the agonies of death ;

Just start on a visit to the graves of the
honoured ones of the city,

See how their skeletons of hope are melted
into thin air ;

The individuals with lighter burdens have
departed from the world,

The pearls are settled at the bottom of the sea,
while the straws are wafted to the shore ;

Be the beggar of the old man of the tavern,
for the king and the poor,

At the door of the tavern, are mendicants ;

No harm would accrue to the property of the
far-sighted Nazırı,
For he still lingers in the valley, his luggage
has reached the destination.

سکھن دوست گراں بود فراوان کردم¹
جان به بیعانه بیارید که ارزان کردم
هیچ اکسیر به تاثیر محبت نرسد
کفر آوردم و در عشق تو ایمان کردم

Precious was the discourse of *love*, I made it
abundant,
Give life as earnest money as I made it
cheap ;
No elixir approaches in efficacy the property
of *love*,
I brought heresy and in thy love turned it
into faith.

کفر و ایمان نبود شرط نظیری در عشق²
بتو کافر بنمایم که ولایت دارد

The infidelism and faith are not necessary
conditions in love, O Nazırı,
I may show thee an infidel who possesses
saintliness.

مردم از زلف تو دارند کافرستانے دگر³
دمبدم ذو میکنم از رویت ایمانے دگر

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

حسن هر سو در لباس صورتی پنهان شود
عشق هر ساعت در آویزند بدامانے دگر

In thy curly locks people discover a fresh
land of heresy,
Every moment I renew my faith from
thy face;
Beauty in every direction hides itself in the
guise of some face,
Love every moment hangs on to the skirt
of some one.

۱ اثر نگر که بلب نارسیده آه هنوز
هزار آبله دل بر سر زبانی دارد

See the effect of the sigh which has not yet
even reached the lip,
That a thousand blisters are cast by the heart
on the point of the tongue.

Of the following odes the opening lines only are
quoted :

۲ از گلستان گل بازار آمده
عید مرغان گرفتار آمده

From the garden the rose has come to the
market,
The 'Id of the birds in captivity has come.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

۱ آنچه زخم از دل برد تاثیرِ فریادِ منست
و آنچه نسیان آورد خاصیتِ یادِ منست

That which heals the wound of the heart is
the effect of my lament,
And that which brings forgetfulness is the
substance of my remembrance.

۲ هر کس شهید آن مژھای دراز نیست
در شرع بر جنازه آنکس نماز نیست

Every one who did not suffer martyrdom
from those long eyelashes,
In the law of Islām no prayers are offered
over his bier.

۳ دریغا، در چنین فصلی حریفم یار بایستی
میانِ ببلانم جائے در گلزار بایستی

Alas, in such a season my associate should
have been my friend,
Amidst the nightingales my place should
have been in a garden.

۴ گربروں از برقعِ زلفِ پریشان آمدی
کارھای بے سرو سامان، بسامان آمدی

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

If his face had emerged from the veil of
 entangled locks,
 The affairs of the needy would have received
 fulfilment.

سُحَرِ مَنَادِي بَلْبَلِ بَگِلَسْتَانِ دَرِيَابِ¹
 صَلايِ صُكُوتِ گُلِ مِيژَنْدِ زَبَانِ دَرِيَابِ

Early in the morning hear the call of the
 nightingale in the garden
 He gives a general invitation to have com-
 pany with the roses, understand his tongue.

اَز کَفِ نَمِي دَهْدِ دِلِ آسَاں رِبُودَه رَا²
 دِيْدِيْمِ زَوْرِ بَازَوِي نَاآزْمُودَه رَا

He does not give up from his hand the easily-
 captured heart,
 We realise in full the strength of that
 uncouth arm.

کُنمِ بِي بَادَه بَدِ مَسْتِي کِه سُوْدَاے دَکَرِ دَارِمِ³
 بِسَاقِيِ تَلْخِ مِيگُوْبِمِ کِه دِلِ جَائِي دَکَرِ دَارِمِ

I show dead drunkenness even without wine,
 since I have a different affair,
 I say bitter words to the cup-bearer, since I
 have my heart elsewhere.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

جز محبت ہرچہ بردم سود درمکشر نداشت
دیں و دانش عرض کردم کس بچیزے برداشت

Aught except love I presented was of no
avail on the day of Resurrection,
I placed my wisdom and religion, but none
took them for anything.

فلک مزدورِ ایمائے تو باشد

نوازد ہر کہ را رائے تو باشد

The sky is obedient to thy will,
It graces whomsoever thou wilt.

بہ تسبیح و مصلا کردہ ام میخانہ آرائی
کنون از اشک رنگیں میکنم پیمانہ آرائی

I have decorated the tavern with the rosary
and the prayer-carpet,
Now I give colour with my tears to the
wine cup.

The following is a fine specimen of elegance, and
combines linguistic beauty with melody which is the
special domain of Qā'ānī :

پردہ برداشته ام از غم پنہانے چند
بزیان میروہ امروز گریبانے چند

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

زان ضعیفان که وفا داشت درین شهر اسیر
 قفسے چند بجای مانده و زندانے چند
 سرو سامان سخن کردن این جمع نیست
 پہلو من بنشانید پریشانے چند
 کشته از بسکه فتادند کفن نتوان کرد
 فکر خورشید قیامت کن و عریانے چند
 هیچ دل راستم حادثہ مجروح نکرد
 کہ نہ لعل تو براں ریخت نمکدانے چند
 چشم بر فیض نظیری ہمہ خوباں دارند
 کاسہ در پیش گدا داشته سلطانے چند

ولہ

¹ ہمیشہ گریہ تلخی در آستین دارم
 بہ نرخ زہر فروشم گر انگبین دارم
 بیان و برقم از احوال خویش در گفتار
 کہ ابر در گزر و تلخم در زمیں دارم
 کسیکہ خانہ بہمسائیگی من گیرد
 مدام خوش دلش از نالہ حزیں دارم

مرا بساده دلیہائے من توان بخشید
 خطا نموده ام و چشم آفریں دمار
 سرم بکار نظیری فرو نمی آید
 کہ داغ بندگی عشق بر جبین دارم

He has the good fortune to wring a word of praise for his poetic charm and gracefulness even

from the *Atashkada* and the *Majma-Naziri*: the Qā'āni of India. 'ul-Fusaha, whose attitude towards those poets who repaired to India is of special interest, and will be dealt with hereafter.

In the sweetness of style¹ and melody of diction, he is the Qā'āni of India. The pathos contained in his elegiac poems is most marvellous. His famous elegy, which he wrote in the form of ترجیع بند (*tarjī'-band*), on the death of Prince

Murād, Akbar's youngest son, is reproduced below as one of the best ever written:

His elegy on the death of Prince Murād.

ترجیع بند

لب خوش نگشته خنده ز چنگ می زند
 در بزم مرگ خنده بر آهنگ می زند

¹ For a criticism on his style, vide Supra, Pt. II, *Humāyūn*, p. 172, fn. 3.

² I am indebted to my friend, Mr. H. A. Rizvi, M.A., LL B., Under-Secretary to the C.P. Government for having copied these lines for me from a valuable manuscript in his possession.

هرگز زمانه جامه ماتم برون نکرد
 نارفته شب بدامنِ شب چنگ مي زند
 وقت گذشته را بتاسف ز پے مرو
 کاینجا نشاط گام بفرسنگ مي زند
 ایں دهر روز کورکش ایام خصم باد
 دست طمع بگیسوی شبرنگ مي زند
 دست اجل به تیغ سیاست بریده باد
 از خاک مهر بر دهن تنگ مي زند
 آرایش جنازه و دستار مي کند
 گوئی که گل بر افسر و اورنگ مي زند
 ایں چرخ شوخ دیده عجب بے بصارت است
 بر جامِ عشرت که دیں سنگ مي زند
 مرزند شاه اکبر والا نژاد مرد
 شیون بر آورد که سلطان مراد مرد

افاق پر دریغ و جهان پر ندامت است
 این روزِ مرگ نیست که روزِ قیامت است
 خلقے پر اضطراب چه جاي ممکن است
 دهرے پر انقلاب چه جائے اقامت است

این ماتم کسی است که از گریه تا به حشر
 بر جیب صبح و دامن شبها علامت است
 خون میکند به جلوه دل خلق گوئیا
 نخل جنازه رسته ازان نخل قامت است
 هر کس چنین جمال در آرد به حشرگاه
 رضوان گرش بهشت دهد در غرامت است
 دل از نوید صحت او بزم سوز بود
 اکنون سراي ماتم و کوی ملامت است
 یاران عجب شکارے از دست داده ایم
 بر سر رنید دست که وقت ندامت است
 شهباز ما پریدد ره آسمان گرفت
 مرغی نه رفته است که دیگر توان گرفت

ای بزم تیر رخ چون ارغوان کجاست
 وی رزم در همی شه گیتی ستان کجاست
 شوق سجود و حرمت تعظیم کمتر است
 آن ناز صدر و سرکشی آستان کجاست

امروز غم نه مسندِ شاهی نشسته است
پهلونشینِ خسرو هندوستان کجاست
آن حکمها که بود ازو آب کار کو
وان کارها که آمد ازو بوی جان کجاست
دلها پراز غمت عزیزان چه واقعست
یک دل شگفته نیست خوشی در جهان کجاست
هر جا به سوگِ مرگ گروهی نشسته اند
زین غم که عام گشت ندانم امان کجاست
برگ و شگوفه ریخت ثمر از کجا خورم
بشکست شاخ و برگ مرا آشیان کجاست
کس را سرود درخویرِ این تعزیت نبود
پیدا کنید کاولِ این داستان کجاست
خلق به شیون اند نگویند حال چیست
صبرِ سخن شنیدن و تابِ بیان کجاست
آفاق در مصیبت او مبتکن شده
این مرگ باعثِ المِ مرد و زن شده

غم خاست، در پیاله مے از ساغر افکنید
 شد بزم تیره، پرده از آن رخ بر افکنید
 شمعیکه دهر روشن ازو بود مرده است
 پروانه را برید و بخاکستر افکنید
 در خانه اش ز حلقه ماتم خرام نیست
 این حلقه را ز صحن سرا بر در افکنید
 دیکان جلوه یا سمن غشوه ریخته
 چینید و هم بران قد جاں پرور افکنید
 یالیں ز تاب کاکلش آشفته کشید
 کوته کنید عربده در کشور افکنید
 رفت آن سربکه تاج باو سرفراز بود
 بر سر کنید خاک و کلاه از سر افکنید
 پوشیده چند جامه نیلی ز جور چرخ
 بر آفتاب جامه نیلوفر افکنید
 خیزید تا بآن سر تابوت دم زنیم
 عرضی کنیم و کار و داعش بهم زنیم

رفتی و کارها همه درهم گذاشتی
 آشفته‌گی به مردمِ عالم گذاشتی
 جانهای غم رسیده و دل‌های بیقرار
 در پیچ و تابِ طرّه پر خم گذاشتی
 از نو غبار بر دلِ بیگانه نبود
 بهر چه بر دلِ پدر این غم گذاشتی
 روز و شب برسم جنیبت ستاده بود
 درزین خویش اشهب و ادھم گذاشتی
 شمع مزار و خشت لحد ساختی قبول
 رخسارِ تخت و طرّه پر خم گذاشتی
 همت ترا به ملک نیاورد سر فرو
 عالم بهر که خواست مسلم گذاشتی
 حرمت نگاه داشتی و جای خویش را
 بهر برادران مقدم گذاشتی
 خونست بے تو گر همه دل‌چوون دلِ منست
 هر دل که بے تو خون نشود سنگ و آهنست

ای شاهِ مصر دور ز کنعان چگونه
 ای یوسف از جدائیِ اخوان چگونه
 هر گاه جلوه کرده تقاضا چه میکنی
 با حسن شوخ در ته زندان چگونه
 اسکندر از غم تو به ظلمت نشسته است
 در زیرِ گل تو چشمه حیوان چگونه
 ای پاره ز جان و جگر گوشه پدر
 گشته جدا ز دیده دامان چگونه
 ما بارے از فراق تو در خون دیده ایم
 تو در میانِ روضه رضوان چگونه
 آوازِ دوحه طبع و دل آشفته میکند
 ای بختِ خوش بخوابِ پریشان چگونه
 اینجاست کارِ دفتر و دیوان حواله بود
 اینجا بگو ز پرسشِ دیوان چگونه
 قلزم سبک ثبات تر آنجا ز شبنم است
 در بحرِ کَل تو قطره باران چگونه
 چون کارِ رفتگانِ دگر نیست کارِ تو
 معشر شتاب میکند از انتظارِ تو

فردا کلاه پادشاهی بر سر تو باد
 رسم العمد بروز جزا دفتر تو باد
 فردا که روزِ حشر بر انگیزی از زمین
 دوش و کنارِ حور و پری مکشرد تو باد
 روزیکه کارها همه موقوف حق شود
 جبریل کارساز و خدا یاور تو باد
 وقتِ سوال، گوش و لب منکر و نکیر
 پر از قبولِ نکتهٔ جان پرور تو باد
 آن حله که آدم ازو ذلّ و قدر یافت
 گهرِ رحمتِ دو کون بود در بر تو باد
 مجموعهٔ عمل چو به مکشرد آوری
 کار تو راست همچو خطِ مسطر تو باد
 مغز از بلخورد روی مزارت معطر است
 بوی بهشت همنفسِ معجر تو باد

آدم بهائے تو نشناسد درین جهان
 تسبیحِ قدس در دلِ کانِ گوهرِ تو باد
 نخلِ ریاضِ ملکِ بابِ عزیزِ تست
 سر سبز از دعای ثناگسترِ تو باد
 کارش به حسنِ شاهدِ فرخندگی بود
 هر چند بر تو مرگ، برو زندگی بود

Among the poets of the Mughal Court, the one whose poetry may be said to have a close resemblance with that of Hāfiz, is Nazirī. Not only in his thought, sphere, and natural tendencies he appears to be a second Hāfiz, but that he seems to have endeavoured to follow steadfastly in the footsteps of his predecessor, whose choice, of all the branches of poetry, fell on *ghazal*. The *love divine*, with which Hāfiz's poetry is replete, may be observed in Nazirī as well, with requisite charm and grace. Hāfiz was a Sūfī, and so was Nazirī. Both had retired from the public life : the one in his middle and the other in his old age. What is more particularly noticeable is that Nazirī, from the very outset, imitates Hāfiz closely, and composes the first ode of his *diwān* in almost the same strain, beginning from an Arabic hemistich and ending in the same. A comparison will readily reveal the points of similarity and the extent to which Nazirī had succeeded in this task :

اذا ما شئت ان تحكي حيوۃ حلوة الحيا
برسواتي بر آور سر ز مستوري برون نه پا
نظيري گر طمع داري كه مقبول مغال باشي
فلا تحسند ولا تبخل ولا تكسر علي الدنيا

الا يا اينها الساتي ادر كا سا و ناولها
كه عشق آسان نمود اول ولے افتاد مشكلها
حضورى گر همي خواهي ازو غائب مشو حافظ
متي ما تعلق من تهوي مع الدنيا و امهملها

Also compare a few other odes as follows :

دوش بر سوز دل و سينه براتم دادند
سر چو شمع بپريدند و حياتم دادند
در و صاف غم و شادي بمن ارزاني شد
تا خم و خمكه عشق براتم دادند
گر سینه دیده تر از مفلس کنعان بودم
خواجہ گشتم كه ازان حسن زكاتم دادند

دوش وقت سكر از غصه نجاتم دادند
و ندران ظلمت شب آب حياتم دادند
چه مبارك سكرے بود و چه فرخنده شير
آن شب قدر كه اين تازه براتم دادند
من اگر كام روا گشتم و خوشدل چه عجب
مستحق بودم و اينها بز كا تم دادند

باره باره جگر طور ز غیرت خون شد
 که کهری بودم و چون کوه ثباتم دادند
 ناله کردم بنهان عشوه خموشم کردند
 گریه کردم ز شکر خنده نباتم دادند
 اخترم شعله بر چرخ نظیری زده است
 کس چه داند که چه عالی در جاتم دادند
 تا بمقصد سپرم کشتی مشتاقان را
 از خنرا همت و از نوح نجاتم دادند

وله

جام گیر اخت افتاده بر افلاک انداز
 روح شو عاریت خاک تو بر خاک انداز

هاتف آنروز بمن مژده ایس دولت داد
 که بیازار غمت صبر و ثباتم دادند
 ایس همه قند و شکر کز سختم مهریزد
 اجر صبریست کزان شاخ نباتم دادند
 کیبایست عجب بندگی پیر معاف
 خاک او گشتم و چندین در جاتم دادند
 همت حافظ و افساس سحر خیزان بود
 که ز بند غم ایام نجاتم دادند

وله

خیز، در کلاسه سر آب طربناک انداز
 پیش ازانی که شود کلاسه سر خاک انداز

دل مارا که ز مار سر زلف تو بختست
 از لب خود بشفاخانه تریاک انداز
 غسل در اشک زدم کاهل طریقت گویند
 پاک شو اول و پس دیده بران پاک انداز
 چون گل از نکبت او جامه قبا کن حافظ
 وان قبا در ره آن قامت چالاک انداز

وله

بود آياکه در ميکدها بکشایند
 گره از کا فروبسته ما بکشایند
 بصفاي دل زندان و صبرحي زندگان
 بس در بسته بفتح دعا بکشایند

دوستگاني بکريفان سحر خيز دهند
 چاره علت مخمور به تریاک انداز
 با چنيس دیده آلوده ترا نتوان دید
 دیده از خود ده و بر خود نظر پاک انداز
 دیده آنکه نظر جز بجمال تو کند
 نازک انداز بران دیده و چالاک انداز

وله

هر سحر سلسله از پائي صبا بکشایند
 کز کشادش گره از دل ما بکشایند
 هر کجا فتنه آن چشمه سیه در کار است
 کفر باشد که زبان را بدعا بکشایند

Naziri

کارم از زلف گره گیر تو پیچیده تراست
سرِ این رشته ندانم ز کجا بکشایند
گر بمیخانه نظیری برم این زمره را
مطربانم گره از بند قبا بکشایند

وله

هر سر شاخ دریں باغ هوائے دارد
هر گلے رنگے و هر مرغ نوائے دارد
يك شكر كام اُبدم همه شیریں کرده است
نزد خود هر مگسے فیهائے دارد
برهن هم زده بتکده نوید نشد
در هر خانه زنی خانه خدای دارد

Hāfiz

گیسو چنگ برید برگر مئے آفتاب
تا همه مغیجگان زلف دوتا بکشایند
حافظ این خرقه پشیمه به بینی فردا
گرچه زنار ز زینش بجفا بکشایند

وله

عالم از ماله عشاق مبادا خالی
که خوش آهنگ و شرح بخشش نوائے دارد
مخترم دار دلم کیس مگسے قند پرست
تا هوا خواه تو شد فیهائے دارد
پیتر در کش ماگرچه ندارد زر و زور
خوش عطا بخش و خطا پوش خدائے دارد

وله

در ازل بهوتو حسنت ز تجلی دم زد
 عشق پیدا شد و آتش دهمه عالم زد
 حله کرد ز خش دند ملک عشق دداشت
 عین آتش شد ازین غیرت و بر آدم زد
 مدعی خواست که آید بتماشه گه از
 دست غیب آمد و بر سینه ناصکرم زد
 عقل میخواست کزان شعله چراغ افروز زد
 برق غیرت بد زخمشید و جهاں برهم زد
 جان علوی هوس چاه زنگدان تو داشت
 دست در حلقه آن زلف خم اندر خم زد
 حافظ آنروز طرب نامه عشق تو نوشت
 که قلم به سر اسباب و دل خرم زد

وله

حسن چندید ز خواب و مژه برهم زد
 فتنه برپا شد و نیش برک عالم زد
 مطلب جمه ذرات ز جا برجستند
 مابه عیش چو بر خاک بنی آدم زد
 خواست آئینه تحقیق بما بسیار زد
 قفل کزوری بدل و دبدۀ نا محکوم زد
 سر ازین قصه نظیری که بیار پیرو
 گرچه عمر بسکن گشت و ورق برهم زد
 روح آزاد کزین معرکه جان بیرون برد
 دست در حلقه فترک خم اندر خم زد
 عقل چو دید که عشق آمد و خونگوار آمد
 لب فرو بست و دم از سلطنت خرم زد

Besides the verses quoted above, there are other parallel odes which are referred to the reader in their respective *diwāns*. But in spite of all this effort on the part of Nazīrī, it has to be admitted that he has not touched Hāfiz in his particular vein. The latter's music and tune which breathe *love divine* are gifted and lie outside the pale of all the poets of Persian language.

Nazīrī's main sphere of thought is
ghazal, in which he distinguishes
 himself from his colleagues in the
 following points :

A summary
 of Nazīrī's pe-
 culiarities of
 style.

- (i) Use of simple, sweet, and colloquial words, which give a special charm and melody to his diction.
- (ii) Construction of new words and suggestive compounds to depict faithfully his thought, which would otherwise be expressed in long phrases.
- (iii) Materialisation of spiritual objects, *i.e.*, he depicted ideas, passions, and feelings of love, grief, and happiness, like a painter, giving them a lifelike touch.
- (iv) His description of *love* and its joys and sorrows is invariably with a touch of personal emotion, like the one who speaks from actual experiences.

- (v) Consistency in his thought and expression, *i.e.*, he generally sticks to one main idea in his *ghazal* throughout. For instance, when he talks of *separation*, the same trend of thought pervades his whole *ghazal*, as against the practice of other poets who introduce a new topic in each line.
- (vi) His philosophy is very simple and based often on everyday occurrence, and common experiences of life.
- (vii) He enriched the language, and gave specific weight and beauty to *ghazal*, of which he became a perfect master in his later years.

Maulānā Jamāluddīn Muḥammad, poetically sur-named ‘Urfī, was a native of Shīrāz where his father held a high rank in government service.

‘Urfī : his
poetical career
at Shīrāz.

After acquiring a competency in Arabic grammar, Logic, and Persian prosody, he began his career as a poet in Shīrāz. His chief adversaries with whom he held poetical contests were Muhtasham Kāshī, Wahshī Yezdī, ‘Ārif Lāhijī, Husain Kāshī, and others. On his arrival in India, he first went to meet Faizī at Fathpūr, and chose to stay with him, due perhaps to the latter’s poetical reputation. Badāūnī pays a

His arrival
and reception
at Āgra.

tribute to Faizī for his generous reception and hospitality he extended to 'Urfi :

پیشتر از همه بشیخ فیضی آشنا شد و الحق شیخ
هم با او خوب پیش آمد و مایحتاج الیه او از وی
بهم میرسید

First of all he became acquainted with Shaikh Faizī, and to speak the truth, the Shaikh also treated him well, and all his requirements were supplied by him.

Afterwards owing to a rupture caused by certain cutting remarks exchanged on both sides,¹ 'Urfi sought the patronage of Hakīm Abul Fath, in whose praise he composed the following *qasīda*, expressing his desire to enter into his service :

حکیم عهد ابوالفتح آفتاب هنر³
که از دمش رود اعجاز عیسوی برباد
خدا یگانا دارم حکایتی بر لب
که چون مدیح تو نتواندم بلب استاد

¹ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 285.

² Cf :

روزے بقاء شین فیضی آمد چون سگ بچہ ر ابا شین مفاوما دید
پرسید کہ این مقدم زادہ را چہ نام است شین گفت عرفی
او در بدیہ گفت مبارک باشد

[Ibid.]

³ *Qasā'id-i-'Urfi* p. 57, Lucknow, 1880.

خیالِ بندگیت دوش نقش می بستم
 ز روی کسبِ شرف نی زروے استعداد
 بخدمتِ اَمدَم اینک بگو چه مصلحت است
 بر آستانِ تو باید نشست یا استاد

The physician of the age, Abul Fath, the sun
 of skill,
 That from his breath the miracle of Christ
 goes to wind ;
 O master, I have a tale on my lip,
 That like thy praise cannot stop on my lip ;
 Last night I was thinking of thy service,
 Thereby to acquire honour, not by reason of
 my learning ;
 I have now come to thy service, say what
 thou thinkest best,
 Should I sit at thy threshold or remain
 standing ?

After the death of Hakīm Abul Fath, he attached himself to *Khān-i-Khānān*. The *qasīda* which he wrote on this occasion is as follows :

از آسمان و زمین مژده ناگهان آمد^۱
 که آفتابِ زمین تاجِ آسمان آمد
 بگو خلاصهٔ تقدیر خانکشانان است
 که همعنانِ شهنشاهِ انس و جان آمد

^۱ Ibid., p. 55.

خدا یگانا حالِ دلم تو میدانی
 چگویمت که دلم چون ز غم گراں آمد
 چه احتیاج که گویم که مرد و عرفی را
 چه بر سر از اثرِ مرگِ ناگهان آمد
 دریں مصیبتِ عظمی که دهرِ سنگین دل
 ز گریه هر سرِ مو چشم خونفشان آمد
 برفت و لطفِ تو بر من گذاشت وین بدلست
 بنزد عقل که تاوانِ آن زیان آمد

From the sky and the earth the glad tidings
 came suddenly :

That the sun of the earth (*Khān-i-Khānān*)
 became a crown for the sky ;
 Say that the essence of destiny is *Khān-i-*
Khānān,

He is the peer of the Emperor of man and
 genii ;
 O master, thou knowest the condition of my
 heart,

What should I say to thee, how heavy my
 heart became with grief !

What need is there for me to say that he
 died, and to 'Urfī

What passed over his head, consequent to
 Abul Fatah's sudden death ;

In this great calamity even the stonyheart-
 ed age's,

Through weeping, every point of hair be-
 came a blood-shedding eye ;

He went away, and left me to thy kindness
to take care of me ; and it is a
substitute
In the estimate of wisdom, since it became a
recompense for that loss.

He declares
ghazal to be
his sphere, but
attempts com-
petition with
Anwarī, Khā-
qānī and Zahr,
in *qasida*.

His fame chiefly rests on *qasida*,
but it is significant that he himself
declares *ghazal* to be his sphere :

قصیده نظم هوس پیشگان بود عرفی¹
تو از قبیله عشقی و طغیہات غزل است

Qasida is the composition of people having
greed for their profession, O 'Urfī,
Thou art from the tribe of love thy recita-
tion is *ghazal*.

He made attempts to compete with Anwarī,
Khāqānī, and Zahr Faryābī, and wrote *qasida*
mostly in their metre and rhyme. The following is
in imitation of Anwarī :

چہرہ پردازِ جہاں رخت کشد چوں بکمل²
شب شود نیمرخ و روز شود مستقبل

¹ *Dīwān-i-'Urfī*, p. 19, Lucknow, 1880.

² Cf : Anwarī's masterpiece :

جرم غورغید چو از حوت در آید بکمل اشہب روز کند ادم شب را ارجل

The face-adorners of the world when it takes
its chattels to the Aries,
The night becomes half-faced, and the day
comes to the fore.

The following is after the manner of Khāqānī :

دل من باغبان عشق و حیرانی گلستانش¹
ازل دروازۀ باغ و ابد حدّ خیابانش

My heart is the gardener of love, and per-
plexity is its garden,
Eternity is the gate of that garden, and
perpetuity is the boundary of its flower-
beds.

This is in the style of Zahr :

سپیده دم چو زدم آستین به شمع شعور²
شنیدم آیت 'استفتکوا' ز عالم نور

Early in the morning when I put out the
candle of my consciousness,
I heard the verse of the Qur'ān "seek the
opening " from the region of Light.

¹ Cf: Khāqānī's famous *qasīda* :

دل من پیر تعلیم و من مغل زباندانش دم تسلیم سر و سر زانو دبستانش

² Cf: Zahr ;

سپیده دم که شدم محرم سرائ سرور شنیدم آیت تو یا ای الله از لب حرور

Some of his
best *asā'id*.

Some of his best *qasā'id* are the
following :

در حمد یاریتعالی

- ۱ ای متاعِ درد در بازارِ جان انداخته
گوهرِ هر سود در جیبِ زیان انداخته
- ۲ نورِ حیرت در شبِ اندیشهٔ اوصافِ تو
بس همایون مرغِ عقل از آشیان انداخته
- ۳ از کمانِ ناجسته در چشمِ تحکیرِ کرده جا
معرفتِ کو تیرِ حکمی بر نشان انداخته
- ۴ ای بطبعِ باغِ کون از بهرِ برهانِ حدوث
طرحِ رنگِ آمیزی از فصلِ خزان انداخته
- ۵ سرعتِ اندیشه را افکنده در دامنِ تیر
عادتِ خمیازه در جیبِ کمان انداخته
- ۶ در چمنهای محبت هر قدم چون کربلا
از نسیمِ عشوه فرشِ ارغوان انداخته
- ۷ مرغِ طبعِ اندر هوای معصیتِ نکشوده بال
عفوِ تو شاهینِ رحمت را بران انداخته
- ۸ سایهٔ پروردِ غمت در آفتابِ رستخیز
فرشِ استبرقِ بزیرِ سائبان انداخته

- ۹ طعمه عشقِ ترا از مغزِ جاں آورده ام
آن همتا تا سایه بر این استخوان انداخته
- ۱۰ ای مذلت را روایی داده در بازارِ عشق
عزت و شأن را ز اوج عز و شأن انداخته
- ۱۱ هر کجا تاثیرِ غم را داده اذنِ عموم
شادیِ راحت فشان را ناتوان انداخته
- ۱۲ زین خجالتِ چوں پروں آیم که دل در موجِ خوں
نوعروسانِ غمت را موکشان انداخته
- ۱۳ فیض را نازم که هر کس پا براهت مانده است
دل بدست آورد جانرا از میان انداخته
- ۱۴ صیدِ دل را بهر آگهی ز صیادِ ازل
در کمندِ طَرَهٗ عنبر فشان انداخته
- ۱۵ کرده از عرفانِ لباسِ عجز را دامنِ دراز
کوته‌ی در جیبِ عقلِ نکته دان انداخته
- ۱۶ طعمهٔ کز خوانِ عشق افکنده ام در کامِ دل
ریزهٔ آنرا جکیم اندر دهان انداخته
- ۱۷ شرع گوید منع لب کن، عشق گوید نعره زن
کلی تو هم در راهِ عشقِ خود عنان انداخته
- ۱۸ دولتِ وصلت که دریابد که با آن محرمی
جوهرِ اولِ علم بر آستان انداخته

- ۱۹ حیرتِ حسنِ ترا نازم که در بزمِ وصال
جامِ آبِ زندگی از دستِ جان انداخته
- ۲۰ وصفِ صنعتِ کز لبِ هر ذره میریزد برون
نطقِ را در معرضِ عقدِ اللسان انداخته
- ۲۱ در ثنایتِ چون کشایم لبِ که برقی ناکسی
منطقِ را آتشِ اندرِ خان و مان انداخته
- ۲۲ منکه باشم عقلِ کل را ناک اندازِ ادب
مرغِ اوصافِ تو از اوجِ بیان انداخته
- ۲۳ مستِ ذوقِ عرفیم کز نغمهٔ توحیدِ تو
لذتِ آوازهٔ در کلامِ جهان انداخته

In praise of God.

1. O Thou, who hast thrown the commodity of
love in the market of life,
The jewel of profit Thou hast put in the
pocket of loss ;
2. The lustre of amazement in the night of
apprehending Thy attributes,
Has thrown many an auspicious bird of
wisdom from its nest ;
3. Every arrow that knowledge aimed with
unfailing accuracy to hit the target,
Even before it left the bow, it took its abode
in the eye of bewilderment ;

4. Thou, in the temperament of the garden
of Existence, to prove its fleeting nature,
Hast mixed the colours from autumn ;
5. Thou, Who hast put the rapidity of thought
into the skirt of arrow,
Hast placed the habit of yawning in the
pocket of bow ;
6. In the flower-gardens of *love* every step is a
kerbala,
From the breezes of blandishment red
carpets are spread ;
7. The bird of one's passion has not yet even
fledged its wing to soar in the region
of sin,
That Thy forgiveness has let the falcon of
Thy mercy to pounce upon it ;
8. The one brought up in the shade of Thy
love, under the sun of Resurrection,
Will find himself on a carpet of velvet
spread out for him under a canopy ;
9. I have brought a morsel for Thy love from
the morrow of my life,
Since that auspicious bird (*love*) has cast
its shadow over these bones ;
10. Thou, Who hast given currency to hu-
miliation in the market of *love*,
Hast pulled down ' *honour* ' and ' *dignity* '
from their sublime height ;
11. Everywhere Thou hast given general per-
mission to Thy love to produce its effect,
Thou hast rendered the worldly pleasure and
comfort feeble ;

12. How can I escape from this feeling of remorse that my heart, in the pool of blood,
Has thrown the brides of love, pulling them
by their locks ;
13. I am proud of thy bounty that every one
who has put his step on thy path
Brought his heart to his hand, and removed
the barrier of life from the midst of him ;
14. The Eternal Hunter, to reveal himself to the
prey of heart,
Has thrown it in the noose of the sweet-
smelling locks of the beautiful ;
15. He has made the garment of *humbleness*
possess a long skirt from divine knowledge,
He has put *narrowness* in the pocket of
subtle wisdom ;
16. Of that one morsel from the table of *love*
which I put into the palate of heart,
Hell took a particle and put it in its own
mouth ;
17. The law of religion enjoins upon me to shut
my lip, while *love* commands me to
speak out,
O God, Thou art riding on the path of *love*
(inviting others to love Thee) ;
18. Who else can get the boon of Thy union,
since for all that confidence,
Even Gabriel let fall his banner on the very
threshold ;
19. I admire the amazement caused by Thy
beauty, since in the assembly of union with
Thee.

- The cup of the water of life dropped from
the hand of my soul ;
20. The praise of Thy skill which is uttered by
the lip of every atom,
Has thrown the power of speech on the
tongue which is tied ;
21. In Thy praise how can I open my lip, since
the lightning of my insignificance
Has set fire to the house and property of
my logic ;
22. I shoot arrows of propriety at the all-wisdom,
But the bird of Thy praise has hurled me
down from the height of discourse ;
23. I am captivated by the taste of 'Urfi that
from the song of Thy oneness,
He has given the relish of fame to the palate
of the universe.
-

در تحریر مصفاطاب بسوی همت

عادت عشاق چیست مجلس غم داشتن
حلقه شیون زدن ماتم هم داشتن
بر سر عمان درد موج حلاوت زدن
بر در میدان دل فوج ستم داشتن
حمد غم و نعت درد بر لب دل دوختن
شهر دل و باغ جان وقف الم داشتن

- ۴ نَعْمَةُ دَاوُدَ رَا از لِبِ شِیون زدن
 آتشِ نمرود رَا بَاءِ ارم داشتن
- ۵ با خطِ آزادگی بندگیِ آموختن
 بَا دِلِ بے آرزو چشمِ کرم داشتن
- ۶ از ابدیِ ذوقِ غم رویِ زیانِ تافتن
 وز ازلِ بیعِ دردِ سودِ سلم داشتن
- ۷ حسنِ عبادات رَا برقعِ نسیان زدن
 زشتیِ اعمال رَا لوحِ و قلم داشتن
- ۸ در تهِ دوزخِ ز شوقِ جرعهٔ کوثر زدن
 بر لبِ کوثرِ ز شرمِ حسرتِ نم داشتن
- ۹ آئینهٔ دیدهٔ رَا صبقِلِ حیرت زدن
 زاویهٔ سینهٔ رَا مَلْکَرِ غم داشتن
- ۱۰ هم ز غبارِ کنشتِ عطرِ کفن ساختن
 هم بترازیِ دیرِ سنگِ حرم داشتن
- ۱۱ در دهنِ بلختِ عیشِ ناولِ لاریختن
 در کمرِ درسِ عشقِ دستِ نعم داشتن
- ۱۲ تا به ثریِ آبِ چشمِ از پئیِ هم ریختن
 تا به فلکِ داغِ دِلِ بر سرِ هم داشتن
- ۱۳ در جگرِ اشتهاِ آبِ هوسِ سوختن
 وز اثرِ امتلاِ دردِ شکم داشتن

- ۱۴ مستی و دیوانگی جامِ مسیحا شکست
 صرفه درین بزم نیست ساغر جم داشتن
- ۱۵ دین و دل و عمر و جان، جمله بسیلاب ده
 دشمن درویشی است خیل و حشم داشتن
- ۱۶ خامه تراشی ستم، نامه خراشی گناه
 ساده و بیزخم به لوح و قلم داشتن
- ۱۷ شیب نگویم بطیع به ز شیب است لیک
 به ز دعونت بود قامتِ خم داشتن
- ۱۸ بهرِ نعیمِ بهشت طاعتِ ایزد مکن
 بر لبِ جیکو خطاست چشم به نم داشتن
- ۱۹ این ده کثرتِ اساس بشکن و انگه به بین
 مالکِ وحدت شدن ملکِ قدم داشتن
- ۲۰ مذهبِ عرفی بگیر، ملتِ قارونِ بهل
 گنجِ هنر ریختن به ز درم داشتن

In Self-admonition.

1. What is the habit of lovers ? To hold the
 assemblies of sorrow,
 To form a circle of mourning, and to lament
 for the coming woes ;
2. On the shore of the ocean of grief to
 produce the wave of delight,
 To keep ready the army of pain on the
 battlefield of the heart,

3. To stitch the praises of pain and grief on
the lip of the heart,
To keep the city of the heart and the
garden of life devoted to suffering,
4. To sing the song of David from the lip of
lamentation,
To treat the fire of Nimrod as the garden
of Paradise ;
5. In spite of the mandate of freedom to learn
servitude,
In spite of a heart free from desire to have
an eye on generosity (from the beloved) ;
6. To turn the face of loss from the eternal
pleasure of grief (not to see it as loss),
And from the eternal sale of pain to derive
enormous profit in advance ;
7. To cover under the veil of oblivion the
beauty of devotion,
To keep a tablet and pen ready for the bad
deeds ;
8. To drink a draught of *kausar* with eager-
ness in the bottom of hell,
To shamefully long even on the brink of
kausar itself to moisten the parched lips ;
9. To give the polish of amazement to the
mirror of heart,
To keep the corner of breast a store-house
of grief ;
10. Also, to make *attar* for the shroud from the
dust of a Jewish church,
And to keep the stone of Ka‘ba in the same
balance with a temple ;

11. In the mouth of rich fortune to shoot the
arrow of *no*,
Round the waist of the lesson of love to
put the hand of *yes* ;
12. To pour down the tears of grief to the very
bottom of the earth,
To pile up to the sky the scars of the
heart ;
13. To burn down the water of desire in the
liver of appetite,
And through the effects of the fulness of
stomach to feel stomach-ache ;
14. Drunkenness and madness broke the cup of
Jesus,
It is no use in this assembly to keep the
cup of Jamshid ;
15. Give all to the surge of the sea—religion,
heart, life, and soul,
To keep a retinue of servants is opposed to
the life of a derwish ;
16. To mend the pen is a tyranny, to scratch
the paper is a sin,
It is better to keep the tablet blank and the
pen unwounded ;
17. I do not say that old age is by nature better,
than youth, but,
To keep one's back bent is better than
vanity ;
18. Don't obey the commandments of God for
the boons of Paradise,
It is foolish to keep one's eye on spray on
the bank of a river ;

19. Demolish this village which has its foundation on *Multiplicity* and then see, What it is to be the master of *Unity* and to possess the kingdom of *Eternity* !
 20. Adopt the creed of 'Urfi, and reject the principles of Korah, Better to scatter the treasures of art than accumulate *dirhams*.
-

در نعت

- ۱ اقبالِ کرم میگزَد اربابِ هم را
- ۲ همت نخورد نیشتر لاؤِ نعم را
- ۳ از رغبتِ دنیا الم آشوب نگردم
- ۴ زین باد پریشان نکند زلفِ علم را
- ۵ فقرم بسیاست کشد از مسندِ همت
- ۶ در چشم وجود از ندهم جای عدم را
- ۷ بی برگی من داغ نهد بر دلِ سامان
- ۸ بیمهری من زرد کند رویِ درم را
- ۹ این جوهر ذات از شرفِ نسبتِ آباست
- ۱۰ سود است به ابر این دُر اگر چه سریم را

- ۶ هرچند که در کشمکش جاه و مناصب
گمنام نمودند همه دودۀ هم را
- ۷ از نقش و نگار در و دیوار شکسته
آثار بدید است صنایعِ عجم را
- ۸ تا گوهرِ آدم نسیم باز نه استند
ز ابای خود از بشرم اصحابِ کرم را
- ۹ اما نبود وصفِ اضافی هنرِ ذات
این فتوئۀ همت بود از بابِ هم را
- ۱۰ ابنِ برقِ بحاجت که جهد از گهرِ من
مدح است ولے گوهرِ ذاتِ اب و عم را
- ۱۱ وصفِ گل و ریحان بهوا باز نگردد
هر چند هوا عطر دهد قوتِ شم را
- ۱۲ المنة لله که نیازم به نسب نیست
اینک بشهادتِ طلم لوج و قلم را
- ۱۳ اقبالِ سکندر بجهانگیری نظم
برداشت بیک دست قلم را و علم را
- ۱۴ نوبت بمن افتاد، بگوئید که دوران
آرایشی از نو بکند مسندِ جم را
- ۱۵ نے نے غلط این نغمہ بموقعِ نسرودم
این نغمہ نشید است دگر صوت و نغم را

- ۱۶ دوران که بود تا کند آرایشِ مسند
مداحِ شهنشاهِ عرب را و عجم را
- ۱۷ آرایشِ ایوانِ نبوت که ز تعظیم
خاکِ درِ او اوجِ شرف داد قسم را
- ۱۸ روزیکه شمرند عدیلش ز مکالات
تاریخِ تولد بنوشتند عدم را
- ۱۹ آنجا که سبکروحیش آید به تکلم
ز اسیبِ گرانیِ نخورد گوشِ اصم را
- ۲۰ تارایتِ عفو و غضبش سایه نیفکند
هیئتِ متصور نشد آرامش و رَم را
- ۲۱ تا شاهدِ علم و عملش چهره نیفروخت
معلوم نشد فایده نِے کیف و نه کم را
- ۲۲ تاثیرِ بردِ سهمِ نو از حکمِ کواکب
تغییرِ دهد هیبتِ تو طعمِ نعم را
- ۲۳ انعامِ تو بر دوخته چشم و دهنِ آز
احسانِ تو بشگافته هر قطره یم را
- ۲۴ زان گریه دهد روشنیِ دل که بیاموخت
روشنگریِ آئینه انصافِ تو نم را
- ۲۵ در کویِ تو تبدیل کند مردمِ مکِ چشم
اجزای وجودِ خود و اجزای قدم را

- ۲۶ از بس شرفِ گوهرِ تو منشیِ تقدیر
 آنروز که بگذاشتی اقلیمِ قدم را
- ۲۷ تا حکمِ نزولِ تو در پسِ دارِ نوشته است
 صدره به عبث باز تراشید قلم را
- ۲۸ گر جوهرِ اولِ بحرِیمِ تو در آید
 تن در نه دهد قامتِ تعظیمِ تو خم را
- ۲۹ آنروز که امکانِ حشمِ حادثه آراست
 در سایه انصافِ تو میخواست حشم را
- ۳۰ تا کونِ ترا اصلِ مهماتِ نخواندند
 نشنید قضا ترجمه لفظِ اهم را
- ۳۱ تا مجمعِ امکانِ و وجوبِ ننوشتند
 موردِ متعینِ نشد اطلاقِ اعم را
- ۳۲ تقدیرِ بیکِ ناقه نشانید دو محمل
 سلمایِ حدوثِ تو و لیلایِ قدم را
- ۳۳ تا نامِ ترا افسرِ فهرست نه کردند
 شیرازه مجموعه نه بستند کرم را
- ۳۴ عرفیِ مشتابِ این ره نعت است نه صحرایست
 آهسته که ره بر دم تیغ است قدم را
- ۳۵ هشدار که نتوان بیکِ آهنگِ سرودن
 نعت شه کونین و مدیمِ کن و جم را

- ۳۶ شایسته بدست آر که بیند درین شهر
شایستگی جنس چه بسیار و چه کم را
- ۳۷ گیرم که خرد حصر کند مایهٔ نعتش
آن حوصله آخر ز کجا نطق و رقم را
- ۳۷ شاهابه عطایت که ازان کام که دانی
نومید مهل عرفی مکروم و دژم را
- ۳۹ از باغِ نعیمش مدهٔ انعام و میامیز
با مطلبِ او مطلبِ اصحابِ شکم را
- ۴۰ آسایشِ همسایگی حق ز تو خواهد
او هیمةٔ دوزخ نکند باغِ ارم را
- ۴۱ دانم نه رسد ذره بخورشید و لیکن
شوقِ طیران میکشد اربابِ هم را
- ۴۲ هر چند طبیعی بود این منس تو بفرمای
تا جلوه دهد فیضِ تو اکسیرِ کرم را
- ۴۳ من هم ز خجالت لبِ خجلت نکشایم
ای آبِ حیات از لبِ تو خضرِ نعم را
- ۴۴ هرگاه که در مدح بلغزم تو ببخشای
کز مدح ندانم من حیران شدهٔ دم را
- ۴۵ تکصیلِ ثواب و شرفِ نسبتِ نعتت
زینگونه خجل ساخته حسانِ عجم را

- ۴۶ تا مدح تو آمد ز مشیت به نوشتن
 بالا نگریستن بشد اریاک قلم را
- ۴۷ دانش نه کشاید بسزا عقدهٔ نعت
 زبنجاست که اندیشه نگوں کرد علم را
- ۴۸ مدح تو ز اخلاص کنم گدیه نه از علم
 از بتکده چون آورم آهوی حرم را

In praise of the Prophet.

1. The acceptance of gifts hurts the pride of
 the ambitious,
 Their loftiness does not brook the lancet of
yes and no ;
2. I am not worried with the desires of this
 world,
 By this wind I will not disturb the curly
 locks of *love* ;
3. My poverty would drag me down chastising
 from the throne of magnanimity,
 If I were not to admit transitoriness of
 things in the eye of existence ;
4. My indigence inflicts a scar of envy on the
 heart of opulence,
 My indifference makes the face of gold
 coin pale ;
5. This jewel of intrinsic merit I owe to my
 sacred connection with my ancestors,
 Although this pearl of mine has raised the
 head of the ocean to the clouds ;

- 6 & 7. Although in the struggle for rank and
position,
All have thrown into oblivion their
dynasties ;
Yet, from the paintings and drawings
surviving on the broken walls and doors,
The signs of the great men of Persia are
apparent ;
8. Up to Adam my lineage would not
halt,
If I were to count generous men from
among my ancestors ;
9. But the additional qualification is not the
real merit of the *self*,
This is the ruling of magnanimity for the
magnanimous ;
10. This effulgence of nobleness which flashes
from my jewel,
Is praise, but it is for my father's and
uncle's gems ;
11. The merit of the rose and the hyacinth is
not attributed to the breeze,
Although it is breeze that carries fragrance
to the brain ;
12. Thank God, my merit does not depend on
my lineage,
I would presently summon as witness the
tablet and the pen ;
13. Alexander's fortune to conquer the world
of my poetry,
Lifted up with one hand the pen and the
flag ;

14. Now my turn has come, tell *Time*
That it should adorn anew the throne of
Jamshid ;
15. Nay it is wrong, I did not sing the tune in
its opportune moment,
This melody is a prelude to another song
and tune ;
- 16 & 17. Who is Time to decorate the throne
Of the eulogiser of the Emperor of Arabia
and Persia :
An ornament to Prophethood, whose
honour is so great
That the dust of his door gave height of
dignity to an oath ;
18. On the day when they counted his equal
to be among the impossibilities,
They wrote *non-existence* to be the date of
the birth of his equal ;
19. In a place where his light soul enters into
conversation,
He would not suffer the presence even of
a deaf ear lest it fall heavy upon it ;
20. Until the banner of his forgiveness and
wrath cast their shadow,
The form of rest and flight could not be
conceived ;
21. Until the beauty of his knowledge in theory
and practice showed its face,
The significance of quality and quantity
of a thing was not known ;
22. Thy wrath takes away from the stars their
influence,

- Thy dread alters the taste of daintiness
altogether ;
23. Thy bounty has stitched the eye and the
mouth of greed,
Thy benevolence has torn open every drop
of the ocean ;
24. The shedding of tears brightens the heart,
because,
Thy justice has taught the moisture the
method of cleansing the mirror ;
25. In thy lane the pupil of the eye changes
Its component parts into those of its feet ;
- 26 & 27. Due to the excellence of thy jewel, the
writer of Destiny,
That day when thou left the kingdom of
eternity,
For writing the order of thy arrival in this
world,
Mended his pen a hundred times in
vain ;
28. If Gabriel were to enter thy sanctuary,
Thy stature would not stoop before him to
show him respect ;
29. That day when grandeur of this world
adorned its existence,
It sought shelter under thy justice ;
30. Until they recognised thy existence to be
the root of all important problems,
Destiny did not hear the meaning of the
word important ;
31. Until they wrote thy existence to be the
confluence of *mortality* and *immortality*,

- The object for a common epithet could not
be fixed ;
32. Destiny placed two litters on one camel,
The one for the *Salmā* of thy mortality, and
the other for the *Lailā* of thy immortality ;
33. Until they put thy name on the top of the
list of Creation,
The scattered pages of the book of munificence were not bound ;
34. 'Urfi, don't walk fast, this is the path of the
Prophet's praise, and not a desert,
Walk slowly because the path for the feet
is on the edge of a sword ;
35. Be careful, for one cannot sing in the same
tune,
The praise of the lord of the two worlds,
and that of the ordinary kings like
Kai-Khusrau and *Jamshīd* ;
36. Bring in thy hand something worthy, for
they see in this city,
The quality of the articles and not the
quantity ;
37. I grant that wisdom comprehends the
substance of his praise,
But where has it the courage to express it
in writing and speech ?
38. O king, for the sake of thy munificence, of
that object which thou knowest,
Deprive not 'Urfi, the indigent and the
grief-stricken ;
39. Reward him not from the garden of
Paradise, and mix not

- His object with the object of the men of
greed ;
40. He desires from thee the boon of the
nearness of God,
He does not want to make the garden of
Paradise fuel for hell ;
41. I know the particle will not reach the sun,
but,
The desire to soar spurs the magnanimous-
minded ;
42. However unchangeable be the copper of my
disposition, thou give order,
That thy bounty may touch it with the
alchemy of thy generosity ;
43. I too, out of shame for my sins do not
open my lip of penitence,
O thou, whose lip is the life-giving nectar
when it utters the word *aye* ;
44. Whenever I slip on the path of thy praises
forgive,
For, bewildered as I am, I cannot distin-
guish between praise and dispraise ;
45. The acquirement of blessings and the boon
of my connection with thy praise
Have put the *Hassān* of 'Ajam to shame ;
46. Since thy praise came from Divine *will* to
be written,
The pen forgot altogether to look upwards ;
47. Wisdom cannot cut the knot of thy praise,
as it ought,
It is for this reason that imagination has
lowered its banner ;

48. I praise thee through sincerity, and not
with the aid of my learning,
How can I bring forth the deer of Ka'ba
from a temple ?

در نعمت

- ۱ صبحکدم چون دردمدل صور شیون زای من
آسمان صحنِ قیامت گردد از غوغای من
۲ گوشِ اهلِ آسمان و حلقهٔ ماتم یکیست
شیونم تا برکشید آهنگِ هایای من
۳ مصر ویران کرد و رو در وادی ایمن نهاد
رودِ نیلِ شوق یعنی گریهٔ موسای من
۴ زانِ دلِ شوریده را بر تارکِ خود می نهام
کاشیانِ مرغِ مجنون شد دلِ شیدای من
۵ زانِ ملایک چون مگس جوشند از هر سو که هست
چشمهٔ لذت کشا هر موے غم پالای من
۶ کام جانرا تازه کردی ای غمِ لذت سرشت
نِ غلط گفتم چه غم ای من و ای سلوای من
۷ در خمارِ احتیاجم زانِ که ایرد دور داشت
بادهٔ کامِ دو کون از جامِ استغنای من

۸. آسماں دریوزہ کرد و آفتابش کرد نام
لعلے از اویزه گوش شب یلدای من
۹. نیل گون گردید دوش آفتاب از تکیه ام
بسکه هر مو گشته کوهستانے از غمهای من
۱۰. منت بازیچه عیسی مکش بهر حیات
آرزو مردن بپرس از نفس مرگ آرای من
۱۱. خورده مردم صد شکست از فوج قدس آشوب حسن
شوق بے هنگام تاز مست نا پروای من
۱۲. منکه مستی کردن از خون جگر آموختم
ننگ هوشم باد گر جز خون بود صهبای من
۱۳. شاهد عصمت تلاش صحبت من کے کند
خون حیض دختر رز جوشد از لبهای من
۱۴. منکه از دل تا دماغ چیده خمهای شراب
کے شوم مخمور و کے خالی بود مینای من
۱۵. مریم من فیض جبریل از مزاج خود گرفت
مریمے را برد بالا ذہن عیسی زای من
۱۶. آن بهشت معنیم کز بعد معزولی هنوز
خدمت طوبی بود ننگ چمن پیرای من
۱۷. مرحبا ای بادہ کیفیت روح القدس
کامدی چون عشق در رفتی ز سر تا پای من

- ۱۸ من قیامت زارِ عشقم دیده کو تا بنگرد
صد بهشت و دوزخ از هر گوشهٔ صحرای من
- ۱۹ نفخ صور آمد بجای لکن داودی هنوز
رقص معنی میکند طبع سہی بالای من
- ۲۰ من مطیعِ ملکِ استغنا لے رانند حکم
دودمانہای ہوس در ملکِ استغنا من
- ۲۱ دامنم ترکردہ طوفانی کہ در معنی یکیست
موجہ دریا و موجِ حلۂ خاری من
- ۲۲ نور و ظلمت را بود یک مایہ در تابندگی
آن زروی آفتاب و این یک از سیما من
- ۲۳ بسکہ در معنی بطفلی باز میگردم ملک
در حسابِ دی شمارد غفلتِ فردای من
- ۲۴ آیت 'لا تقنطوا من رحمۃ اللہ' شد گرہ
بر زبانِ جبرئیل از شرمِ عصیانہای من
- ۲۵ معنی پنهان من آرایشِ بیت اللہ است
گو شبیہِ دیر باشد صورتِ پیدای من
- ۲۶ لوحِ دل نقشِ صمد دارد چہ غم کاستاد چین
بافت تمثالِ صنم بر شقۂ دیبای من
- ۲۷ بالِ طاؤس از گلاب و عود رضوان پرورد
تا بسازد مروحہ در موسمِ گرما من

- ۲۸ اصلِ من از دودمانِ نوع انسانی مجبوی
 حور غم رضوانِ درد است آدم و حوای من
- ۲۹ جوهرِ اول که فرزندم ز بیباکی نوشت
 آن زمان سنجید عیارِ گوهرِ یکتای من
- ۳۰ کز جهان در یثرب آرم رویِ درگوشِ آیدش
 مرحبا یا امتی از مرقدِ مولای من
- ۳۱ گرگزیند سرمه جز خاکِ درش مژگانِ چو باز
 چنگل اندازد بزاعِ دیدهٔ بینای من
- ۳۲ شقّهٔ دیبایِ جاهش گفت محسود که ام
 آسمان گفته طرازِ خانهٔ خضرای من
- ۳۳ موجّهٔ دریایِ طبعش بانگِ کوثر کرد و گفت
 تشنهٔ منشیش ای فدایِ زادهٔ دریای من
- ۳۴ در دمی اندیشهٔ قد، تو بشکافد ز بیم
 حلمهایِ علم بر دوشِ دلِ دانای من
- ۳۵ تا تو گشتی غائبِ چشمِ از رهٔ نسبت گرفت
 مردمکِ حکم سبلِ در دیدهٔ بینای من
- ۳۶ سایهٔ من همچو من در ملکِ هستی امت
 سایهٔ تو در عدمِ پیغمبرِ همتای من
- ۳۷ آسمانِ وحدتم بر عالمِ فطرتِ محیط
 توامیت بر نقابِ پیکرِ جوزای من

- ۳۸ دودمانِ عشق را از من گرامی تر نژاد
جوهر من کرد روشن گوهرِ آبای من
- ۳۹ نازش سعدی بـمـشـتِ خـاکِ شیراز از چه بود
گر نبود آگه که گردد مولد و ماوای من
- ۴۰ این کبابِ آتشِ جان و شرابِ دردِ دل
کش سخن نامست تا که ریزد از لبهای من
- ۴۱ من پریشان گوی و سهوا ندیش و سودا هرزه دوست
من بسودا مانم و ماند بمن سودای من

In praise of the Prophet.

1. Early in the morning when the heart blows
the trumpet, producing lament,
The sky becomes the court-yard of Resurrec-
tion through my cries ;
2. The ears of the denizens of the sky and the
ring of mourners have become one,
Since my lament raised the pitiful cries of
"ha, ha " ;
3. The river Nile of my longing, fed from the
weeping of my Moses (heart),
Rendered the Egypt of my body desolate,
and turned its face towards the peaceful
valley of Sinai ;
4. For this reason I place my perturbed heart
over my head,
That my mad heart has become the nest of
the bird of love ;

5. For this reason angels flock around me like
flies from every corner,
That each of my sorrow-distilling hair is a
stream of sweet water ;
6. O pleasure-pain thou hast refreshed the
palate of my soul,
Nay, I was wrong, what sorrow ? it is my
nectar and ambrosia : *my manna* and *salva* ;
7. I am under the intoxication of want, because
God has kept away
The wine of desire for both the worlds from
the cup of my richness of mind ;
8. The sky begged a ruby, and named it sun,
From the ear-ring of my dark night ;
9. The shoulder of the sky turned pale on
account of my resting against it,
So much every hair of mine has become
heavy with sorrow like a mountain ;
10. For the sake of life do not put thyself under
the obligation to the miracle of Christ,
Ask the value of death from my death-de-
corating *self* ;
11. Every moment has sustained a hundred
defeats from the army of heavenly beauty,
My reckless, untimely, dead-drunk, and
thoughtless *love* ;
12. I who learnt drunkenness from the blood of
my heart,
May it be a shame for my consciousness if
my wine be any other than my own blood ;
13. How could the chaste maiden of love seek
my company ?

- Since the impure blood of the daughter of
grape drips from my lip ;
14. I, who have heaped up jars of wine from
the heart to the brain,
When could I be said to be drunk, and my
tumbler empty of wine ?
15. My Mary (genius) got the benefit of Gabriel
from her own temperament,
My Christ-producing (poetic) intellect took a
Mary (poetry) up the sky ;
16. I am that Paradise of meaning whose rank
even after banishment is such,
That my garden-decorator considers it a
shame to serve the *Tūba* in the Garden of
Eden ;
17. Thrice welcome, O my wine of the ecstasy of
holy spirit,
That came like *love* and went into my body
from head to foot ;
18. My love is so extensive that there are many
plains of Resurrection in it, where is the eye
to see ?
A hundred heavens and hells arise from
every corner of my desert ;
19. The blowing of Doomsday's trumpet came
in the place of David's tune, still
My straight disposition is engaged in danc-
ing a busy dance ;
20. I am a slave of the country of contentment
but the orders are issued
By the dynasty of *desire* in the country of
my contentedness ;

21. My skirt is drenched in a storm which in
reality is one
With the wave of the ocean and the wave of
my silken clothes ;
22. Light and darkness both shine and have a
basis for their brightness,
For the former there is the face of the sun,
while for the latter my countenance ;
23. So much in reality I revert to my childhood
that the angel
Records my negligence of tomorrow in yes-
terday's account ;
24. The verse of the Qur'ān " Despair not ye
of the mercy of God," became a knot
On the tongue of Gabriel, through shame
of my sins ;
25. My intrinsic merit is the decoration for
the Ka'ba,
Although my outward appearance be like
that of a temple ;
26. The tablet of the heart bears the inscription
of divinity, where is the cause for sorrow
if the master painter of China
Has woven a picture of an idol on my silken
garment ;
27. The gate-keeper of Paradise rears the
peacock-feathers with rose-water and
incense,
So that he may make a fan for my summer
season ;
28. Don't trace my origin from the stock of
mankind,

36. My shadow, like myself, is thy follower in
the world of existence,
Thy shadow in the world of non-existence is
the Prophet of my equal ;
37. The sky of my oneness has enveloped the
physical world,
The stature of my *gemi*ni cannot endure the
attribute of being twin ;
38. In the dynasty of love no one was born
worthier than myself.
My gem has given lustre to the jewel of my
fore-fathers ;
39. What for Sa'di was proud of the handful of
dust of Shirāz ?
If he was not aware that Shirāz would be-
come my birth-place and my home ;
40. This roast meat: the fire of my soul, and the
wine of the aching heart,
Whose name is poetry, how long will it
trickle down from my lips ?
41. I, whose speech is confused, whose thought
is unsound and who loves madness,
I resemble madness, and my madness resem-
bles me.
-

دار • حاج حکیم ابوالفتح

۱ چهره پرده از جهان رخت کشد چو به حمل
شب شود نیم رخ و روز شود مستقبل

- ۲ چشم شب تنگ شود دائره مردمکش
دیدۀ روز بتدریج بر آید احول
- ۳ مردم دیدۀ آن ژالۀ و گرما بصفت
بیضۀ دیدۀ این روغن و دیبا بمثل
- ۴ خون سودائی شب زائد و فاسد گردد
لاجرم نشتر روزش بکشاید اکحل
- ۵ روز چوں کرم پریشم همه بر خویش تند
هرچه شب رد کند از معدۀ چو زنبور عسل
- ۶ بعد ازین ترجمۀ روز شود صاحب کل
بعد ازین شب به نگین ثبت کند عبد اقل
- ۷ وقت آنست کنون کز اثر عیش و نشاط
مے ننگجد بصراحی و صراحی به بغل
- ۸ جام یاقوت و مے لعل بهم پالایند
اثر نامیۀ چوں لاله و داغش بمثل
- ۹ نامیۀ چوں چمن سبزه دهد اتمامش
ناقص از کارگه آرند بباغ ار مخمل
- ۱۰ عرق از شبنم گل داغ شود بر رخ حور
اخگر از فیض هوا سبز شود در منقل
- ۱۱ چمن آید بچمن بهر تماشای جمال
بلبل آید بر بلبل به تمنای غزل

- ۱۲ گیرد از فیض هوا طبع جواهر دارو
خصمت ارسوده الماس کند در مکمل
- ۱۳ بسکه هر خار گلی کرده عجب نیست اگر
یاسمین بشگفت از نشتر زنبورِ عسل
- ۱۴ پیشِ باغ و چمنِ دهر کنون گر رضوان
نسخته خلدِ برین باز کشاید بمثل
- ۱۵ صورتِ خلد ازین باغ مفصل یابد
سیرتِ این چمن از خلد به بیند مجمل
- ۱۶ دورِ گیسو بمیان بسته در آید بچمن
تالالباب کند از سنبل و گل جیب و بغل
- ۱۷ بسکه از سنبل و گل یافت صفا نزدیک است
کز پشی بوسه دو لب را بهم آرَد جدول
- ۱۸ شاید ار عذرِ پرستار پذیرند بکشر
بسکه برداشت صفا صورتِ عزّی و هیل
- ۱۹ انبساطی است درین فصل که بیکاشِ عقل
شاید ار باز شود عقده مالاینکل
- ۲۰ لیلی از گوشه مکمل بنمودست جمال
یا بوذِ لاله که سر بر زده از گوشه تل
- ۲۱ حاسد آزار شوم زین غزلِ نازه که باز
موسمِ شادی بلبل شد و اندوه جعل

- ۲۲ ای شب هجر تو در دیده خورشید سبل
چشم روح القدس از شوقِ جمالت احول
- ۲۳ مژه برهم نردم دوش که در بیتِ حزن
تا صباحم در دل کوفت تمنای اجل
- ۲۴ از دل و دامن آلوده در یاس مزین
دجله عفو به اینها نه شود مستعمل
- ۲۵ بعداب ابدی دل نگزارد غم دوست
این نه مومی است کز آتش بکند ترکِ غسل
- ۲۶ لذت تلخی درد تو اگر شرح دهم
نوشدارو بفرستم بسلام حنظل
- ۲۷ چند ازین آتشِ خس پوش برانگیزی دود
ای بلخوش جوهری آئینه حسن تو مثل
- ۲۸ آستین ز وفا بر مژه ام کش تا چند
پوشم این چشم تر از حدسِ خداوند اجل
- ۲۹ میر ابوالفتح که در سینه دولت مهرش
آفتاببست که تحویل ندارد ز حمل
- ۳۰ روی در روی رود سایه او با خورشید
چشم بر چشم کند پایه او جذبِ زحل
- ۳۱ لب او خندد اگر چشم جهان گیرد زار
دست او جنبد اگر دستِ قضا گردد شل

- ۳۲ با هوا داري لطفش ز سر سبز ربیع
 بهمن و دي بربايند کلاه مخمل
- ۳۳ يکدرم وار نياید ز خالص بيرون
 گر ضميرش زر خورشيد در آرد بعمل
- ۳۴ عنفش اندر کنفِ عدل بخوابست و بود
 رازدارِ عدم و مصلحت اندیشِ اجل
- ۳۵ در مقامیکه کند روي کنایت به عدل
 ضرب شمشير ندارد اثرِ ضربِ مثل
- ۳۶ آسمان گفت ندانم که حلول از چه نکره
 صورتش پيشتر از صورتِ عالم بمحل
- ۳۷ زانکه چون روز ادرات ز جهان سر برزد
 صبحدم دَوَلتِ او زان شبانگاه ازل
- ۳۸ زين سخن جوهرِ فعال بر آشفَت و بگفت
 کاي تنک بهره ز فهمِ رصدِ علم و عمل
- ۳۹ بيمِ آن بود ز خاصيتِ يکتائي او
 که هيولى نه پذيرد صورِ مستقبل
- ۴۰ اي تجلّی و جودِ تو جهانگیرِ بقا
 وي تمنایِ حسودِ تو عنانگیرِ اجل
- ۴۱ صفوتِ ذهني تو صرافِ مطالبِ چو دليل
 جودتِ لفظِ تو کشافِ دقایقِ چو مثل

- ۴۲ فلکِ عدلِ تو هر دم بجهان آرائی
آفتابِ دگر از حوت بر آرد بحمل
- ۴۳ تا گرفته ز سخای تو جواهر دارو
چون حاتم شده در دیده امید سبل
- ۴۴ بهر پائانه خدام تو چون رفت به چرخ
گر نبود اطلِس افلاک چنین مستعمل
- ۴۵ چون دماغِ فلک از صیتِ تو مختل گردد
عیسی از مهر نشاید که کند دفعِ خلل
- ۴۶ گر جعل دردِ سر از رائحه گل یابد
بلبل از بهر مداواش نساید صندل
- ۴۷ جمله همسنگِ گهرهای دل و طبع منست
این جواهر که فشاند کفِ جودت به امل
- ۴۸ فاش گویم نکم شرم همانست که کرد
اشتیاقِ کفِ تو صورتِ نو عیش بدل
- ۴۹ لوحش الله که شبگیرِ سمندِ تو که هست
دودمانِ کسل از شوخی او مستاصل
- ۵۰ آن سبکسیر که چون گرم عنانش سازی
از ازل سوي ابد وز ابد آید به ازل
- ۵۱ قطرها کش دمِ رفتن چکداز پیشانی
شبم آساش نشیند که رجعت به کفل

- ۵۲ گر بخور شید دهد سرعتِ او در یکدم
آید از ثور به ترتیبِ منازل بِکَمَل
- ۵۳ سکناتِ قدم از شوخیِ او نا معلوم
حرکاتِ فلک از سرعتِ او مستعمل
- ۵۴ گرسرِ خصم تو بندند بپایش گه نزع
تا قیامت بگلویش نرسد چنگِ اجل
- ۵۵ در عنان گردشِ او تا کرهٔ نار هوا
طے شود دائرهٔ بر دائرهٔ مانندِ بصل
- ۵۶ داورِ داوریت هست اشارت فرما
تا بساید فلک از بهرِ صداعش صندل
- ۵۷ دایِ یک شهر ز عرفی بستان کین مغرور
کبر و نازش نه باندازهٔ قدرست و محمل
- ۵۸ پر غرور یست که تا من در مدحت نرودم
این گمان داشت که دورانِش نیاورد بدل
- ۵۹ نیم تکسین مکن از گوید صد بیت بلند
که دماغش شده از حسنِ طبیعت مختل
- ۶۰ هر سرِ مویش اگر باز شگافی بخورد
سومنائیست که چید است در و لات و هبل
- ۶۱ بهرِ اصل و نسبِ خویش نویسد بیرون
هرچه خواهد ز نسبِ نامهٔ اربابِ دول

- ۶۲ گوهر آمای رموز است نه دریا و نه کان
حکمت آموزِ عقول است نه علم و نه عمل
- ۶۳ دعویِ همت و از شرمِ خسان در خلوت
بشکند رنگش اگر جامه نباشد مکمل
- ۶۴ گر باز بچه نهد در کفِ اندیشه عنان
می نهد غاشیه با دوش جریر و اخطل
- ۶۵ چه قدر عیب تراشم که حسد کم باد
مشنو عیبِ زرِ دهدهی از سیمِ دغل
- ۶۶ گر چه او بود کنون هست و دگر خواهد بود
اینک آن ماضی و حال اینک و این مستقبل
- ۶۷ هر که با او چو عطار د نبود مردِ مضاف
صلح و تحسین خوش آید نه تهور نه جدل
- ۶۸ آنچه ابیات بلند است که از طبعش زاد
انتخابیست ز دیوانِ سخن بخشِ ازل
- ۶۹ آنچه ذراتِ معانیست که بروی جوشند
همه خورشید شود گر بشناسند محل
- ۷۰ دارد از عزتِ اصلِ گهر و لذتِ شعر
پای در تختِ ثریا دست در آغوش زحل
- ۷۱ عزتِ او نه شهید یست که حشرش باشد
ورنه بگریستمی از ستمِ مدح و غزل

- ۷۲ اگر او نامزدِ ننگ شد از لذتِ شعر
شعر از عزتِ او نیک بر آید ز ذلل
- ۷۳ شعر ازو نیک و گر بد تو زبانش دانی
شرحِ این با تو غلط جز تو برم لات و هبل
- ۷۴ لله الحمد که تا قدرِ تو شناخت نه بود
جوهرِ بندگیش چون هنرش مستعمل
- ۷۵ ایکه در عهدِ تو عهدِ جم و کے گر بودے
همه بر خویش فشاندے گهرِ مدح و غزل
- ۷۶ شکرِ طالع کند و چون نبود شکرِ گذار
ان یک اندیش که چشمش بتو افتاد اول
- ۷۷ صله نپذیرد و این حسنِ طلبِ شماری
خود تو دانی که چها کرده به امید و امل
- ۷۸ او که پروانهٔ قدر است نسوزد زین نار
او که حمامهٔ عرش است نیفتد بوحل
- ۷۹ صله برهانِ گدائی و ستایشگریست
بر ثنا گسرت این آیه مبادا منزل
- ۸۰ آنچه دانی و دهی گرچه بمعنی صله است
صلهٔ دوستیش باد نه مدح و نه غزل
- ۸۱ قصهٔ مهر و وفا باتو نیارم گفتن
کیں حکایتِ چون نہایت نه پذیرد اول

- ۸۲ گویم از ناصیه اش هرچه نوشتست بخوان
 این نگویم که مفصل بشنو یا مجمال
- ۸۳ در نثارِ گهر چند طمع داشت قضا
 زان باخلاص تو بشکست غرورش اول
- ۸۴ عرفی افسانه مخوان نوبتِ دیگر شعر است
 گوشه چشم نمودند که تنگ است مکل
- ۸۵ مدح صاحب نه و حرف خود و این طول کلام
 هیچ شرم آیدت از نکته ماقل و دل
- ۸۶ بدعا رو که اجابت نظرش بر لب تست
 گرچه محتاج دعا نامده مسعود ازل
- ۸۷ تا ز تحویل حمل خاک زبرجد گردن
 تا ذبول از عملِ نامیه ماند مهمل
- ۸۸ کشته مزرع بخت تو پزیران بود
 تا بحدیکه چرندش بپای جدي و حمل
- ۸۹ بعدم خصم درون خسته چو در توبه گناه
 تو برون تاخه از حلم چو از علم عمل

In praise of Hakīm Abul Fath.

1. When the adorning of the face of the world
 (the sun) removes its chattels to the
 Aries,
 The night becomes half-faced, and the day
 comes full to the front ;

2. The black circle of the eye of night gets
contracted,
The day gradually becomes squint-eyed ;
3. The pupil of the eye of the former becomes
like a hail in hot weather,
The ball of the eye of the latter becomes,
so to say, like a drop of oil on silk ;
4. The blood of the black night grows abundant and unhealthy,
Of necessity the lancet of the day opens the
middle vein of its arm ;
5. Day, like the silk-worm, weaves upon itself
all,
That night, like the bee, rejects from its
belly ;
6. Henceforth the day becomes the master of
all,
Henceforth the night engraves on its seal
the inscription of “ humblest slave ” ;
7. It is now time that through the effects of
mirth and pleasure,
Wine should not contain for joy in the jug,
nor jug in the arm ;
8. The ruby cup and the red wine grow together,
Through the effects of the power of
growth, like the tulip and its scar ;
9. The power of growth will give a finishing
touch to velvet, as it does to the green
lawns,
If they bring it to the garden unfinished
from the factory ;

10. The perspiration on the face of *hūr* is turned
into a scar, through envy of the beauty
of dew-drops on the rose,
A live coal, through the generosity of the
breeze, becomes green in the brazier ;
11. One garden goes to another to witness the
beauty of its flowers,
One nightingale goes to the other to hear a
new ode ;
12. Through the beneficent breeze, it gets the
substance of antidote,
If thy enemy were to put the diamond-dust
in the collyrium-pot ;
13. So widely every thorn has turned into a
flower that it is not strange if
Jasmine blossoms out of the sting of a bee ;
- 14 & 15. Before the garden and the flower-bed of
this world, if *Rizwān* now
Opens, for example, the book of sublime
Paradise,
He will find in this garden a picture of
Paradise well-defined,
And in the nature of this flower-bed will
see a miniature of Paradise ;
16. The damsel of Paradise enters this garden
with her waist girt up with the curly locks,
So that she may fill up her pockets and
lap with rose and hyacinth ;
17. So much through hyacinths and roses the
beauty is attained, that it is near
That the brook of the garden may bring
its lips together to kiss the flowers ;

18. May be that on the day of Resurrection
they accept the excuse of idol-
worshippers,
So much beauty is attained by the images
of *'Uzzā* and *Hubal* ;
19. There is so much cheerfulness in this
season that without any exertion on the
part of wisdom,
It is likely that insoluble problems may be
automatically solved ;
20. Is it *Lailā* who has displayed her beauty
from a corner of litter ?
Or is it tulip that has raised its head from
a corner of a sand-hill ?
21. I may become a harasser of the envious
by this fresh ode, for again,
The season for the rejoicing of the night-
ingale and the sorrow of the dung-
beetle has come ;
22. O thou, the night of thy separation pricks
into the eye of the sun,
The eye of the holy ghost has become
squint by the fond desire to see thy
beauty ;
23. I could not close my eye last night, for in
the cell of grief,
Till morn the desire for death kept knock-
ing at the door of my heart ;
24. By reason of thy polluted heart and skirt,
don't knock at the door of despair,
The Tigris of God's forgiveness is not
consumed by these .

25. Even for eternal torture my heart would
not give up the love of my friend,
It is not a wax which would leave honey if
heated on fire ;
26. If I were to describe the pleasure of the
bitterness of thy love,
I would send sweet medicine to pay homage
to the wild gourd ;
27. How long wilt thou cause smoke to rise
from this straw-covered fire ?
O thou, whose mirror of beauty is pro-
verbial for its lustre ;
28. Draw your sleeve of friendliness on my
wet eye-lashes ; how long
Should I hide my wet eye from the observa-
tion of the great master ?
29. Mir Abul Fath, whose love is in the heart
of Fortune,
Is like a sun which does not go out of the
Aries ;
30. His shadow travels face to face with the sun,
His rank eye to eye with Saturn ;
31. His lip smiles if the eye of the world weeps
sore,
His hand works if the hand of Destiny gets
tired ;
32. With the loyal support of his kindness,
from the head of the verdant spring,
The months of the autumn carry off the
crown of velvet ;
33. Not a *dirham* worth pure gold would come
out,

- If his heart were to test the gold of the
sun ;
34. His wrath is sleeping under the shelter of
his justice, and it is
A confidant of non-entity and a counsellor
of death ;
35. In a place where he makes a hint to his
enemy (*i.e.*, talks by mere sign or allu-
sion),
His allegorical speech in effect would be
more cutting than the sword ;
- 36 & 37. The sky said, “ I do not understand why
his form did not come into existence
Before the creation of the form of this
Universe,
When on the very first day of God’s *will*
to create the Universe,
His *fortune* was created in the morning,
and *eternity* in the evening ” ?
- 38 & 39. At this speech the primitive wisdom became
angry and said,
“ O thou, who has little share from the
observatory of theoretical and practical
knowledge,
It was feared, due to the quality of his being
unparalleled,
That matter might refuse thereafter to
assume any other form ;
40. O thou, the light of thy being has captured
the whole world of existence,
And the wishes of thy enemy are holding
the reins of Death ;

41. The purity of thy intellect is the assayer of
thoughts, like the argument itself,
The smartness of thy words solves difficult
points, like an illustration ;
42. The sky of thy justice, every moment to
decorate the world,
Brings a fresh sun from the Pisces to the Aries;
43. Since the eye of Hope obtained collyrium
from thy munificence,
The generosity of *Hātim* appeared like
granules in the eye of Hope ;
44. Why did it go to the sky to be made into
socks for thy servant ?
If the satin of the skies were not too much
used ;
45. When the brain of the sky gets disturbed
by the noise of thy fame,
Christ would not, for all his affection, cure
the disease ;
46. If the dung-worm gets headache from the
fragrance of the rose,
The nightingale would not prepare *sandal* for
its treatment ;
- 47 & 48. All are equal in quality to the pearls produc-
ed by my heart and mind,
Those pearls which thy hand of generosity
scatters to Hope ;
I say plainly and feel no shame in saying
That it is the desire of my pearls (verses) to
reach thy hand that has changed their
natural form (*i.e.*, made them look like
pearls in thy hand) ;

57. Take revenge of a whole city from 'Urfi,
for this conceited fellow
Has his pride and arrogance neither in
proportion to his position nor fit for the
occasion ;
58. He is so full of pride that until I knocked
at the door of thy praise,
He thought that time had not created any
one his equal ;
59. Do not allow him even half the praise, if he
says a hundred lofty verses,
For his brain is swelled at the thought of
his poetic excellence ;
60. Every point of his hair, if it is split open
with the lancet of wisdom,
Is a *Sūmnāt* (temple) full of *Lāt* and *Hubal*
(idols) ;
61. For his own descent and lineage, he
writes out
Whatever he wants from the genealogies of
great men ;
62. He is full of mysterious gems, although he
is neither a sea nor a mine,
He teaches Reason wisdom, although he has
neither theoretical nor practical
knowledge ;
63. He lays claims to magnanimity but lives in
retirement, through shyness to appear
before mean people,
His colour becomes pale if his clothes are
not silken ;
64. Should he, by way of fun, give rein to thought,

- He would place the saddle on the shoulders
of *Jarir* and *Akhtal* (poets) ;
65. What number of faults should I coin, may
my envy be less,
Don't hear the defects of pure gold from
impure silver ;
- 66 & 67. Although he was proud in the past, still is,
and will remain so,
Such is his past, present, and future !
Yet when, like Mercury, it is not possible
for any one to challenge him,
It is better to make peace with him and
praise him, rather than show hostility
and arrogance ;
68. Whatever sublime verses he has composed,
They are selections from the *Diwān* of the
Eternal Bestower of Speech ;
69. Whatever particles of meaning come to his
mind,
All would become a sun, if they realise
their position ;
70. He has from the honour of the purity of
his pearl and the sweetness of his verses,
His foot at the bottom of the earth, and his
hand on the arm of Saturn ;
71. His honour is not a martyr for whom there
be any day of Resurrection,
Otherwise I would have wept for the hard-
ship of his writing praises and odes for
others ;
72. If his name was wedded with disgrace,
due to his taste for poetry,

- Poetry well came out of disgrace, on
account of the honour of its connection
with him ;
73. Whether his verses are good or bad, thou
knowest his tongue,
To explain this to you is a mistake, and to
carry it to another is, as though, to carry
it to idols ;
74. Praise be to God, that until 'Urfi came to
know fully thy worth,
The jewel of his obeisance remained unused
like his merit ;
75. O thou, if in thy time Jamshīd and Kai-
Khusrau had lived,
All would have scattered upon themselves
the gems of thy praise and eulogy ;
76. He ('Urfi) thanks his stars, and why should
he not be thankful,
He who has a single thought, whose eye
fell upon thee first ;
77. He will not accept reward, and shouldn't
thou consider this to be an indirect de-
mand,
Thou knowest well what he has done with
hope and prospect ;
78. He is the moth of Providence, and will not
be burnt by this fire,
He who is the pigeon of the ninth Heaven
will not fall in mire ;
79. Reward is a proof of beggary and flattery,
May it be that this verse not descend upon
(apply to) thy eulogiser ;

80. Whatever thou hast given and givest,
 although it is in reality a reward,
 But may it be the reward of friendship, and
 not that of writing encomium and ode ;
81. The tale of affection and faithfulness I
 cannot relate to thee,
 Because this story admits of no beginning
 like its end ;
82. I say, “ Read from his forehead whatever
 is written,”
 I do not say, “ Hear him at length or in
 brief ” ;
83. To scatter upon thee, Destiny desired to
 possess some jewels,
 For this reason it broke down ‘Urfi’s pride
 first, and made him thy friend ;
84. O ‘Urfi, stop relating thy story, it is the
 turn of other poets,
 They winked at thee that the time is short ;
85. It is not the praise of thy master, it is the
 talk of thy own self, and at this length,
 Art thou not ashamed of the proverb, ‘the
 best speech is that which is short and to
 the point ’?
86. Go to pray for him, for acceptance has its
 eye on thy lip,
 Although the one who is eternally blessed
 needs no prayers ;
87. As long as the earth becomes emerald green
 by the entry of the sun into the Aries,
 As long as worthless objects remain forsaken
 by the action of the power of growth ;

88. May the sown-field of thy fortune continue
to grow,
Until the Capricorn and the Aries graze in
it on the sky ;
89. Thy sore-hearted enemy may disappear into
annihilation, just as sin vanishes into
forgiveness,
Thou mayest remain out of it (annihilation)
on account of thy forbearance, free to
move like action out of knowledge.

دردمداح شاهزاده سلیم

- ۱ صباح عید که در تکیه دَهِ ناز و نعیم
گدا کلاه نمد کج نهان و شه دیهیم
۱ نشاط طبع بحدیکه نشنود دانا
بجز ترانه اطفال و ترهات ندیم
۳ بساط مجلس دهر آنچنان نشاط آمود
که دست را بسماع آستین دهد تعلیم
۲ بر از معانقه ناز کان به لمس شجاع
لب از مصافحه شاهدان ببوسه کریم
۵ نوای مرثیه صوم و شادیانه عید
کشاد از اثر انبساط گوش صمیم
۶ بخوان مائده شد دست اشتها مطلق
بکام و معدۀ عداوت فزود طبع لثیم

- ۷ بچشمِ وهم ز فیضِ شگفته روئی دهر
نمود چهرهٔ اُمید داشت صورتِ بیم
- ۸ جهان چنین خوش و من خوشتر آنچنان بوثناق
نشسته با خرد اندر تعلم و تعلیم
- ۹ که ناگهان ز نرم در رسید مزده دهر
چنانکه از چمنِ طالعِ بمرغِ شمیم
- ۱۰ چه گفت - گفت که ای مخزنِ جواهرِ قدس
چه گفت - گفت که ای مطلبِ بهشتِ ذمیم
- ۱۱ بیا که از گهرت یاد میکند دریا
بیا که تشنهٔ لب را طلب کند تسنیم
- ۱۲ زلالِ چشمهٔ امید نقدِ اکبر شاه
طرازِ دولتِ جاوید شاهزادهٔ سلیم
- ۱۳ ازین پیام دلم شد شگفته و شاداب
چنانکه باغِ زشبنم چنانکه گل ز نسیم
- ۱۴ برهٔ فتادم و گشتم چنان شتاب زده
که دستِ اهلِ کرم در نثارِ گوهر و سیم
- ۱۵ چو روزگار رسیدم بدرگه که کند
زمانهٔ طوفِ حریمش بدیدهٔ تعظیم
- ۱۶ رسیدنِ من و اقبالِ آن همایون فال
چنان فتاد موافقِ درانِ خجستهٔ حریم

- ۱۷ کہ گر ادب نکشیدے هنای من قدمش
 ببوسه گاه همیکرد بر لبم تقدیم
- ۱۸ مرا چو دوش بدوش ادب بدید استاد
 بلطف خاص بدل کرد التفات عیم
- ۱۹ رموز کورنش و تسلیم را ۱۵۱ کردم
 بداب مردم دانا نه بذله سنج ندیم
- ۲۰ چه گویمت که بکام چه مایه لذت ۱۵
 گزیده نو بر کورنش نمک چش تسلیم
- ۲۱ نه گفت و من بشنودم هرا نهچه گفتن داشت
 که در بیان نگهش کرد بر زبان تقدیم
- ۲۲ لبش چو نوبت خویش از نگاه باز گرفت
 فتاد سامعه در موج کوثر و تسنیم
- ۲۳ بکنده گفت که در عذر این گناه بزرگ
 که رفته نام تو بے حکم ما بهفت اقلیم
- ۲۴ همینکه رفتی از بن آستان نوشته بیار
 گزیده نسخه از زادهای طبع سلیم
- ۲۵ ازین سخن سرو دستار من گلستان شد
 ز بسکه چیدم و بر سر زدم گل تسلیم
- ۲۶ چو باز گشتم ازان آستان خرد جز وے
 نوشته داد که این تحفه گل است و نسیم

- ۲۷ بگیر و زود ببر با قصیده که بود
 بشاخ و برگ سخن نسخه ریاضِ نعیم
- ۲۸ ز جاشدم که کدامی قصیده باید گفت
 بلهجه که دهد روح در عظامِ رمیم
- ۲۹ من و نمودنِ بطلانِ عهدهای قدیم
 بدکرِ منقبتِ عهدِ شاهزاده سلیم
- ۳۰ تولدش به نهادِ شریر دهر آن کرد
 که با طبیعتِ آتش نزولِ ابراهیم
- ۳۱ نهیبِ هیبتِ او در مشیمه تقدیر
 شکست گوهرِ گفتار بر زبانِ کلیم
- ۳۲ بعهدِ معدلتِ او که عاملانِ فساد
 ز بس هدایتِ تعطیل فارغ اند از بیم
- ۳۳ کشیده فتنه معزول سر بزیرِ لکاف
 دریده ظلمِ فراموش طبلِ زیرِ گلیم
- ۳۴ اگر عیادتِ مرضی کند عدالتِ تو
 جهدِ بقاعده اعتدال نبضِ سقیم
- ۳۵ برویِ ازمنه گر آستین بر افشانند
 شود بسعیِ تموجِ زمانِ حالِ قدیم

- ۳۶ زہے وجودِ تو در سایۂ عنایتِ شاہ
کہ کردہ بذلِ سعادتِ ہمای را تعلیم
- ۳۷ ہمہ مراد چو امید در قبولِ دعا
تمام فیض چو اندیشہ در دماغِ کریم
- ۳۸ حسودِ ناز و نعیمِ تو بر درِ طالع
چنان غریب کہ طامع بر آستانِ لیئم
- ۳۹ زفیضِ لطفِ تو شاید کہ بے سرایتِ عشق
شود بہ اہلِ محبت دلِ کرشمہ رحیم
- ۴۰ زمانہ را ہمہ فرزندِ گر چو تو بایست
ترا بزاوے و بودے دگر ہمیشہ عقیم
- ۴۱ ز بکھرو کانِ کرمِ آنِ نفایس آورده است
کہ احتیاج نہ گوہرِ گرفتن است نہ سیم
- ۴۲ ر عفو و حلمِ تو دلہا بغایتے جمع است
کہ معصیت نہ امید آزمودہ است و نہ بیم
- ۴۳ ہمایِ قدرِ تو اوجے گرفتہ در پرواز
کہ دامِ کسبِ شرف باز چیدہ عرشِ عظیم
- ۴۴ بہارِ خلقِ تو عطرے فشاندہ بر آفاق
کہ بویِ مہرِ پدر باز یافت طفلِ یتیم

- ۳۵ - خدا یگانا گویم به مدحِ خویش دو بیت
 کریں نیارد پرهیز کرد طبع سلیم
 ۳۶ ز زانۀ دل و طبعم اگر شود آگه
 باصلِ خویش بتازد ز شرم دُرِ یتیم
 ۳۷ مثالِ طبع من و هر طبیعتی که جزاوست
 زلالِ ماء معین است و دُرِ ماء حمیم
 ۳۸ خموش عرفی ازین ترهات وقتِ دعاست
 بر آرد دست بدرگه کردگارِ کریم
 ۳۹ همیشه تا که نگردد حلال بر فرزند
 جمیلۀ که شود با بدر بحاجله مقیم
 ۵۰ عروسِ دهر بفتوای ذره تا خورشید
 حلالِ اکبر شه باد و شاهزاده سلیم

In praise of Prince Salim.

1. On the morn of 'id, in the hall of dainties
 and comforts,
 The beggar put on the felt cap boastfully,
 and the king his crown;
2. The heart's joy exists to such an extent
 that the sane do not hear

- Anything but the songs of children and
the merry conversations of courtiers;
3. The carpet of the assembly of this world
is so full of gaiety,
That the sleeve gives instructions to hand
to dance in the assembly of music;
4. The bosom in embracing the delicate
beauty is bold,
The lip in kissing the hands of the loved
one is liberal;
5. The parting song of *fast* mingling with
the music of 'īd
Has opened, through the effects of mirth,
the ear of the deaf ;
6. To the table of dainties the hand of
appetite became free to move,
To the palate and stomach the disposition
of the greedy showed more enmity ;
7. In the eye of thought, due to the cheerful-
ness of the face of the earth,
What was frightful appears like the face
of hope;
- 8 & 9. The world so happy, and I happier still in
my dwelling,
Sitting in company of wisdom, acquiring
knowledge and giving knowledge ;
That all of a sudden entered from the door
a happy messenger,
Just as if from the garden of *luck* sweet
smell entered my brain ;
10. What said he ? He said, "O treasure of
sacred jewels"

What said he? He said, “O thou, the
object of the garden of Paradise !”

11. Come, the ocean longs for thy pearls,
Come, the stream of Paradise invites thy
thirsty lips ;
12. The essence of the stream of Hope, son of
the Emperor Akbar,
The ornament of the eternal Empire,
Prince Salim ;
13. From this message my heart blossomed and
became refreshed ;
Just as a garden becomes fresh by dew,
and a rose by breeze ;
14. I threw myself on the path, and showed
such haste,
As does the hand of the generous in
scattering pearls and silver ;
15. Like the revolution of *time* I reached the court,
Round the sacred walls of which the world
goes on a pilgrimage with the eye of
reverence ;
- 16&17. My reaching there and the coming out of
that august Prince,
So coincided in that blessed sanctuary
That if decorum had not restrained me,
his step,
For being kissed would have taken pre-
cedence to reach my lips ;
18. When he saw me standing shoulder to
shoulder with decorum,
He changed his characteristic politeness
into special favour ;

19. I performed the dues of *kūrniṣh* and *taslīm*,
 In a manner worthy of a wise man, and
 not in a playful courtier-like style ;
20. What could I tell thee ? How agreeable
 it was to my palate !
 That well-chosen new fruit of *kūrniṣh* :
 the *taster* of the obeisance of all ;
21. He said nothing, but I heard all that he
 had to say,
 For in narration his eye took precedence
 over his tongue ;
22. His lip when it took its turn from the eye
 (i.e., spoke),
 The faculty of hearing plunged into the
 waves of the heavenly streams :
kausar and *tasnīm* ;
- 23 & 24. He said with a smile, " In penitence of this
 great sin,
 That thy name has gone over to seven
 climes without my permission,
 Thou shouldst write and bring as soon as
 thou quitteth this threshold,
 A well-chosen poem produced by thy sound
 mind" ;
25. From this speech my head and turban
 became a garden,
 So much I picked the flowers of obeisance
 and placed them overhead ;
- 26 & 27. When I returned from that threshold, my
 imagination, having written a portion,
 Gave it to me saying, " This is a present
 of flowers and gentle breezes,

- Through the effort of the waves of his
bounty the time past becomes present ;
36. What a happy personality is thine under
the shelter of the king's kindness,
Which has taught the auspicious bird *humā*
the bestowal of fortune ;
37. Thou art the sole object of people like the
object sought in prayer,
Thou art all philanthropy like thoughts in
the brain of a generous person ;
38. The envious of thy comforts and wealth at
the gate of luck
Are such strangers as the greedy are on
the threshold of a miser ;
39. Through the benevolence of thy generous
disposition, it is meet that without the
full effects of love
The hearts of the loved ones become kind
towards lovers ;
40. If Time wanted to have all its sons like
thee,
After giving birth to thee it would have
become barren ;
41. Thy bounteous nature has produced such
precious gifts from the sea and mine,
That there remains no need for any one to
obtain pearls or silver ;
42. The hearts are so content with thy forgive-
ness and soft nature,
That sin has experienced neither hope nor
fear ;

Of the following *qasā'id* the opening lines only are quoted :

ای مرتفع ز نسبتِ ذاتِ تو شانِ علم
کَلکِ کهرِ فشانِ تو رطبِ اللسانِ علم

O thou, the rank of knowledge is exalted
through its connection with thee,
Thy pearl-scattering pen is, as if it were,
the fresh tongue of knowledge.

جہاں بگشتم و دردا بہیمِ شہر و دیار
نیافتم کہ فروشند بخت در بازار

I roamed the world, but alas, in no town or
country,
I found that they sell *luck* in the market.

منم آن سحر بیان کز مددِ طبعِ سلیم
نبردِ ناطقہ نامِ سخنم بے تعظیم

I am a speaker so full of charm that with the
aid of my sober intellect,
The faculty of speech does not utter my
verse without showing it respect.

دَمِيکِه لَشکَرِ غمِ صَف کَشَد بَکُونِکُواری
 دَلَم بَنَالِه دَهْد مَنَصِبِ عِلْمَدَارِي

At the moment when the army of grief
 draws its lines for spilling blood,
 My heart gives to the lamentation the
mansab of standard-bearer.

اِي دَاشْتِه دَر سَايَهٗ هَم تِيغ و قَلَم رَا
 وَي سَاخْتِه اَرَايشِ هَم فَضْل و کَرَم رَا

O thou, who hast put under thy shelter the
 pen and the sword,
 And thou hast adorned knowledge as well
 as generosity.

It is said that ‘Urfī and Zuhūrī held friendly communication with each other. Once Zuhūrī sent ‘Urfī and him a present of a Kashmir shawl which was a little soiled. ‘Urfī on seeing it wrote in reply three quatrains in dispraise of it. There are sundry parallel odes of ‘Urfī and Zuhūrī. Some, of which the metre and rhyme are identical with a close affinity of the subject-matter, as if to suggest that they have had poetical contests and competed with each other, are produced below by way of ready comparison of their respective powers :

Parallel odes of 'Urfi and Zuhūrī.

'Urfi

۱ چگونه گریه بکرد، شد که چشم حیرانم
 به آفتاب قیامت مقابل افتاد است
 ز بار درد سبک مایه دای شهیدان را
 که در محیط محبت بساحل افتاد است
 من از فریب عمارت گدا شدم ور نه
 هزار گنج بویرانۀ دل افتاد است
 ز بکرجو کریمی که تشنه در طلب است
 هزار پایه گلۀ تر ز سایل افتاد است

Zuhūrī

۲ بس آفتاب که در سایۀ دل افتاد است
 ازینکه سینه بداغش مقابل افتاد است
 شنای عقل بدریای عشق نیست در ست
 شکستۀ کشتی گردون بساحل افتاد است
 ز دیده بر سر من گرچه صد بلا آمد
 گناهها همه در گردن دل افتاد است
 ازان کشاد که پیشانی کریمان است
 چه عقدها که نه در کار سایل افتاد است

¹ *Dīwān-i-'Urfi*, p. 10, Lucknow, 1880.

² *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 147, Lucknow, 1879.

وله

روي دلفروز تو بستان آتش است
دل مرغ نغمه سنج گلستان آتش است
افتاد دامن دل عرفي بدست عشق
يعني که دست شعله بدامن آتش است
خون شهيد عشق جهانرا فرو گرفت
کشتي مساز نوح که طوفان آتش است

وله

حسن جنس نيست کائرا سيم و زر باشد بها
خان و مان کار داني را زليخا آتش است
عربي از اخديشه بيهوده باز آ، چاره نيست
سر نوشتت يا بهشت جاوداں يا آتش است

وله

گر شعله است لاله بستان آتش است
گر اخگر است ريگ بيابان آتش است
گر ديده زيب مجلس و نشست ميرود
از خس چه بيکها که بدامن آتش است
خاکستري بيد دادايم و سوختيم
کز آه گرم کار بطوفان آتش است

وله

عشق در يوسف فروشي چون بر آيد گداں
از براي گرم بازاری زليخا آتش است
شست و شوي دلقي پرهيزت ظهوري حکمت است
پاک ميگردد بدرينا ليک اولي آتش است

¹ *Diwān-i-'Urfi*, p. 29.

² *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 116.

³ *Diwān-i-'Urfi*, p. 9.

⁴ *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 118.

ز طره مشک بدامان کوهکن باشد¹
 اگرچه تکیه شیریں بدوش پرویز است
 سند سعي چه بیهوده راني اي فرهاد
 که همعنائی گلگون نصیب شبدیز است
 چگونه مانع نظاره ام شوي که مرا
 ز شوقِ روي تو سر تا قدم نگه خیز است
 ازان ز شربتِ صلکم هوایِ پرهیز است
 که آتشِ قپِ شوقم نه آنچنان تیز است

In the following the rhymes are at variance but identical in meaning :

زبان ز نکته فرو ماند و راز من باقیست³
 بضاعتِ سخن آخر شد و سخن باقیست

زبان تیشه فرهاد همچنان تیز است²
 هنوز طعنه تراش ازا برای پرویز است
 ز کوهکن بشنو حرفِ ارزشِ گلون
 بهایِ يك! اسرِ مویش هزار شبدیز است
 سرم بسجده! هر درِ فرو نفي آید
 به آستانِ تو نازم که آسمان خیز است
 نشد که ذوقِ شهادت فرو رود بگلو
 برای تیغِ تو عیب است کانچنین تیز است

از نگه چشم تری گشت و تماشا ماند است⁴
 در زبان حرفِ نماد است سخنها ماند است

¹ *Diwān-i-'Urfi*, p. 10 (Cawnpūr Edition).

² *Diwān-i-Zuhūri*, p. 105.

³ *Diwān-i-'Urfi*, p. 10.

⁴ *Diwān-i-Zuhūri*, p. 113.

Faizī praises Malik Qumī and Zuhūrī in a letter which he once wrote to Akbar from the Deccan, as follows:

Faizī's estimate of Zuhūrī and 'Urfī.

در احمد نگر دو شاعر خاکی نه‌د و صافی
مشرّب اند و در شعر رتبه عالی دارند یکے
ملا ملک قمی..... و دیگر ملا ظهروی کہ بغایت
رنگیں کلام است

At Ahmadnagar there are two poets of humble disposition and pure life, and possess a high rank in poetry. The one is Mullā Malik Qumī....., and the other is Mullā Zuhūrī who is an exceedingly elegant poet.

In another letter to a friend, he writes about 'Urfī:

عرفی شیرازی..... کہ نہ بلندی و وفورِ قدرت
و ایجابِ معانی و چاشنی الفاظ و سرعتِ فکر
و دقتِ نظر، فقیر کسے را چوں او ندیدہ و نشیندہ

'Urfī Shirāzī..in height, and over-
bounding power, and invention of meaning,
and sweetness of words, and rapidity of
thought and minuteness of observation, I, the
indigent, have not seen nor heard any one
like him.

Badāūnī's
conflicting re-
marks about
'Urfī's popu-
larity.

Badāūnī places 'Urfī and Sanā'ī in
popular recognition above Faizī him-
self:

او و حسین ثنائی از شعر عجب طالعے دارند^۱
 کہ هیچ کوچہ و بازارے نیست کہ کتاب فروشان
 دیوانِ این دو کس را در سرِ راه گرفته نہ ایستند
 و عراقیان و ہندوستانیان نیز بہ تبرک می خرند
 بخلافِ شیخ فیضی کہ چندیں زرہای جاگیر
 صرفِ کتاب و تذهیبِ تصانیف خود ساخۃ و هیچ
 کس بآن مقید نمیشود -

He ('Urfī) and Husain Sanā'ī possess a wonderful luck in verse that there is no street nor market where booksellers do not stand on the top of the road holding (in their hands) poetic collections of these two persons. And the 'Irāqīs and Indians also, buy them as a token of blessing; as against Faizī who spent so much money of his '*Jāgīr*' on books and on the illumination of his own writings, but no one remains confined to them.

Curiously in the same page at the top, Badāūnī declares that 'Urfī, owing to his arrogance, was not

¹ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 285.

Note.—This remark of Badāūnī should be read with his previous statement wherein he declares that Faizī's poetic powers are unequalled in the age, and his masnawī '*nal daman*' is held peerless in the popular esteem [*vide supra*, pp. 42 and 43].

a popular poet and had no place in the hearts of people :

عرفی شیرازی جوانی بود صاحب فطرت عالی
و فهم درست و اقسام شعر نیکو گفته اما از بس
عجب و نخوت که پیدا کرد از دلها افتاد

'Urfī Shirāzī was a young man of lofty disposition and right understanding and composed all kinds of poetry well, but on account of too much vanity and arrogance that he had acquired, he fell from the hearts of people.

His death. He died in 999 A.H., at the young age of 36 (according to some 46), and the date was found in the suggestive hemistich :

گفت عرفی جوانه مرگ شده

He said, " 'Urfī died young."

He was buried at Lāhore, but his bones were subsequently removed to Najaf in strange fulfilment of his own prophetic utterance which he had made in the following verse :

بکاویش مژه از گور تا نجف بروم
اگر بهند هلاکم کنی و گر به تتار

¹ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 285.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 375.

³ *Qasā'id-i-'Urfī*, p. 16. [Cf. Mullā Raunaqī's qit'a quoted by *Dāghistānī*, B. M. Codex, fol. 302b.]

He was the leading poet of the age in *Qasida*-writing, and aspired to compete with the renowned poets of Persia. He wrote, '*ghazal*' better than '*masnawi*.' In the latter his position is described by one of his own friends as follows :

His '*masnawī*' had not the colour of eloquence,
It was a mine of salt, and had no dash of saltishness.

'Urfi, as is stated by Badā'uni,¹ made much progress in India in the poetical atmosphere obtained at Āgra under the patronage of the Khān-i-Khānān. He also benefited by the critical appreciation of Hakīm Abul Fath who in a letter written to Khān-i-Khānān mentioned that 'Urfi and Hayātī Gilānī had improved considerably. Shibli has given a critical exposition of 'Urfi's poetry in *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*.²

² *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 102—133.



Zuhurī : the famous poet and prose-writer of the
Court of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Deccan
(Secured at Lucknow)

His name was Mullā Nūruddīn, and Zuhūrī was his pen-name. He is omitted from consideration by the author of *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam* which notices his other contemporaries, 'Urfī, Nazīrī, and Faizī. The author of *Natā'ij-ul-Afkar* Muḥammad Qudratullāh Gulshan, styles him as Mir Muḥammad Tāhir Zuhūrī, while 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, calls him Mullā Nūruddīn Muḥammad. There is a difference of opinion among biographers as to his birth-place. Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, author of *Haft Iqlīm*, states that he was a native of Turbat, while Bakhtāwar Khān, author of *Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam*, gives Tihrān as his birth-place. The contemporary biographers like Taqī Auhadī, and 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, agree that he was born at Khujand, a small town in the district of Tarshīz in Khurāsān :

‘وطن اصلي و مولد و منشي وي قرية
خجند از توابع ترشيز خراسان است -

His real home and place of birth and growth is the village of Khujand from the dependencies of Tarshīz in Khurāsān.

The authors of the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma-'ul-Fusahā* also call him Tarshīzī. In Khurāsān he spent the early part of his youth in the acquisition of knowledge, and having studied grammar, literature, prosody, and traditions under the best

Early part
of his youth
spent in
Khurāsān.

¹ *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, A. S. B. MSS., Account of Zuhūrī.

teachers there, he chose for himself the profession of a poet, due to his natural inclination. While still in Khurāsān, his fame as a poet had spread to other provinces, and consequently he was prevailed upon by some friends to venture competition with the outside world. He therefore left for Yezd where

Opinion of
the author
of *Ma'āsir-i-*
Rahīmī about
his poetic
genius.

he was warmly received by Nawāb Mir Ghiyāsuddīn Mir Miran, and rivalled Wahshī, the leading poet of Yezd. The author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* observes as follows :

چون در خراسان نشو و نما یافت وصیتِ آوازه^۱
فضیلت و شاعری باطراف.....رسانید
بطریقِ سیر و سیاحت و اظهارِ قدرت و حالتِ
خود بر مستعدانِ عراق بدارالعباده یزد
افتاد و مدتی دران دیار که مجمع فضایی
هر فن است در خدمتِ نواب میر غیاث الدین
محمّد میر میران بسر می برد و باوجود
حسان الزمان مولانا وحشی بافقی راهِ مصاحبت
و منادمت یافت و زینتِ مجالس و مکافله
آن عالیجاه بود -

When he grew up in Khurāsān, and the fame of his learning and poetry had gone in every direction, he went to the holy land of Yezd from a desire to see the world and to display

¹ Ibid.

the powers of his mind before the men of letters in 'Irāq. And he remained for a time in that place which is a rendezvous of the learned in every branch of knowledge, in the service of Nawāb Mir Ghiyāsuddīn Mir Mirān. And in spite of the presence of '*Hassan-ul-Mulk*' (the eloquent of the age), Maulānā Wahshī Bānqī, he found his way to association and companionship with the Nawāb, and was the ornament of the assemblies and the meetings of that dignitary.

From Yezd he went over to Shīrāz where he entered into competitions with Muhtasham Kāshī, Ghairatī, Anīsī, and Rizā'ī, and became a prominent figure in the poetical assemblies which were convened in the shop of one Mirzā Husain, a baker.

His poetical
contests at Shī-
rāz.

Here he stayed for seven years, continuing his studies and acquiring skill in calligraphy. In the last-named, he took lessons from Maulānā Darwīsh Husain who was a man of versatile accomplishments, and was noted in Persia in the art of penmanship :

از یزد بشیراز افتاد و مدتِ هفت سال دران
دارالعلم بود-میگویند که با مولانا درویش
حسین که بکمال حیثیات آراسته بود بسر برد و
مولانا درویش حسین را از علمِ تاریخ و معما
و شعر نصیبی وافر بوده و در خط و تذهیب از

¹ Ibid.

یے بدلانِ روزگار بدوہ و اکثر نقاشان و مذهبان
شیراز شاگرد مومی الیہ اند -

From Yezd, he repaired to Shirāz, and was there in that home of learning for a period of seven years. They say that he lived with Maulānā Darwīsh Husain who was a most versatile man, and had a considerable share from the knowledge of history, enigma, and poetry, and in calligraphy and illumination he was from among the unrivalled of the age, and a good many painters and illuminators of Shirāz are his pupils.

It appears that he was for some time at the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the great, but left it for want of proper appreciation and patronage.

His connection with the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the great.

Of the several poetical compositions in praise of the Shāh, there is one *Tarjī'-band* in which he very significantly bemoans his fate, and requests the Shāh to bestow upon him reward and give him encouragement. The principal lines are quoted below :

مردم و مدعا همان خامست¹
بدعا شعلہ اثر برسان
سخنِ کام خشک و دیدہ تر
بشہنشاہِ بکر و بر برسان

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS.

صله خواهم ز شاه حوصله نیز
 کانِ زرِ قلمِ گهرِ برسد
 این بمال آن بجای می نازد
 جان بعباس شاه می نازد

I died, my desire not yet attained,
 To my prayer may the flame of effect yet
 reach;

The dry palate of poetry and the wet eye,
 Send them to the Emperor of the sea and
 land;

I seek reward from the Shāh, and encourage-
 ment too,

Send me the mine of gold and the sea of
 pearls;

The mine relies on its riches, and the sea on
 its glory,

But the pride of life is Shāh 'Abbās.

He came to India in 988 A.H., and stayed for
 some time at Ahmadnagar where he was appointed
poet-laureate at the court of Burhān
 Nizām Shāh. One of his friends to
 whom he used to send his verses
 observes as follows :

His coming
 to India: stay
 at Ahmad-
 nagar and Bija
 pur.

در سنه ثمان و ثمانین و تسعمایه.....
 بهندوستان شتافت و دران دیار ... منصب

¹ *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī*, M.A.O. College Library, 'Aligarh, MSS.
 28-1-6; Introduction.

ملك الشعرائي يافت و الحال در شهر احمد نگر
در ظل تربيت پادشاه آنجا آرام دارد

And in the year 988 A.H., he hurried to India, and in that land attained the rank of the '*king of poets*' and at the present day he is living a comfortable life in the city of Ahmadnagar, under the shelter of the king's patronage.

Thence he proceeded to Bijāpūr where he became introduced to certain nobles of the court. The one most prominent of these was Hakīm Muhammad Yūsuf Bijāpūrī who was a personal physician to the Sultān. Zuhūrī on the first day of his introduction wrote a *qasīda* in praise of the latter, which impressed him so much that on the second day he took him to the court where he was received into the royal favour. The opening lines of the *qasīda* are as follows:

خموش چون شوم از غیب می کنند ندا
که لب مبد ز مدح اجله الحکما
مسیح ملک شفا، خضر وادی الرهام
سمی خیر خلائق عزیز مصر بقا

How could I remain silent? they are giving
a call from Invisibility,
"Do not shut lip from the praise of the
greatest of physicians";

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library, MSS.

He is the *Messiah* of the domain of health,
and the *Khizr* of the valley of revelation,
The name-sake of the best of creatures, the
Aziz of the Egypt of existence.

The then poet-laureate of the court, Malik Qumī, also became a great admirer of Zuhūrī, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Faizī, when he went on deputation to Ahmadnagar, strongly commended him to Akbar's notice, in a special letter which he wrote from Deccan. Badāūnī also heard him very much praised by Faizī.¹ According to *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, Faizī, on meeting Zuhūrī in Deccan, was greatly impressed with his poetic talents, and so was the other. As a result of this mutual appreciation both since that time remained in touch with each other, and exchanged letters in prose and poetry which were admired at both the courts.² It is also related that Zuhūrī had written to Faizī a letter in ornate prose interspersed with beautiful verses, which the latter fell

Meeting of
Faizī with Zu-
hūrī; their ap-
preciation of
each other's
talents.

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 269.

² Cf :

و آمد و رفت منظومات و منظومات که میان ایشان و شیخ فیضی
که از مشاهیر سفنوران دروازه شده در میان مستعدان
زمان مشهور است مخصوص کتابت که در آنجا بمدح شیخ
مذکور گفته... الخ (۱)

[*Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, A.S.B. MSS., Account of Zuhūrī.]

short of replying in the same tone.¹ This letter is also hinted at by the author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*. Badā'ūnī declares him to be the master of a particular style. So also does Wālih Dāghistānī who calls him the author of a mode of prose-writing which was coveted by all but approached by none. The following extract throws light on a much important point as to Zuhūrī's ornate style, which, according to this authority, was spoiled by persons who failed to grasp it and to imitate it properly, and produced bad specimens which subsequently occasioned the critics' indiscriminate condemnation.

Badā'ūnī and
Wālih Dāghis-
tānī on Zuhūrī's
style of prose

از فهم نزاکتِ بیانِش هر کس را نصیب نه از
بس الفاظِ ملایم واقع شده مانوس همه طبایع
است لهذا داعیهٔ آن گفتگو از دلِ هر کس سر بر
میزند و اکثر بضالت افتاده راهِ گفتگو را
غلط کرده بخیالاتِ دور از کار و سخنانِ
مزخرف افتاده می پندارند که متبع طرزِ آن
مغفور اند

¹ Cf :

رقعه که ظهوری بشیخ فیضی ملک الشعراء جلال الدین محمد اکبر
پادشاه نوشته بود—مشهور است..... گویند که فیضی جرابش
توانست فرستاد

[Shēr Khān 'Nusrat Jang,' *Mi'r'āt-ul-Khiyāl*, B.M.
MSS., Or. 231, fol. 53b.]

* *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 281.

To understand the elegance of his discourse is not within the power of every one. The words are so very soft that they are agreeable to all the dispositions. Consequently the desire of making such speech makes its head from the heart of every one and many having gone astray missed the path of speech, and having entered into useless thoughts and nonsense talk, think that they are the followers of that blessed soul.

Iskandar
Munshī's tri-
bute.

The famous Persian historian, Iskandar Munshī, of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, observes as follows :

‘مولانا ملک قمي و مولانا ظهري که نور
شعراي زمان و سخن پردازان روزگار و ممتاز اقران
بودند و در ظل رعایت او بسر مي بردند کتاب
نورس که نه هزار بیت است هر کدام چهار هزار
و پانصد بیت بنام او در سلك نظم آورده نه هزار
روپيه طلا که نهصد تومان عراقی مي شد ازو
جایزه یافتند

Maulānā Malik Qumī, and Maulānā Zuhūrī who were the lustre of the poets of the age and the eloquent of the day, and were distinguished among their contemporaries, and living under the shelter of his (Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's) patronage, having brought the book of *Nauras* in the string of poetry which con-

¹ 'Ālam-Arā-i-'Abbāsi, Ḥabīb Ganj Library (Bhikampur) MSS., fol. 79.

sists of 9,000 verses, each of whom contributing 4,500, got from the king a reward of 9,000 gold coins which are equal to 900 *tūmāns* of 'Irāq.

Views of
Sā'ib and Ghālib.
Sā'ib, the poet-laureate of India and Persia, pays Zuhūrī a tribute more glowing than he did to Faizī.

'صائب نداشتیم سرو برگِ ایس غزل
ایس فیض از کلامِ ظهروری بما رسید

Sā'ib, we did not possess the requisite material for this '*ghazal*.'

This benefit reached to us from the verses of Zuhūrī.

Ghālib, a distinguished poet of the 19th century, also acknowledges the immense benefit that he derived from Zuhūrī's poetry:

'غالب از اوراقِ ما نقشِ ظهروری دمید
سرمهٔ حیرت کشیم دیدهٔ بدیدن دهیم

Ghālib, from our pages the colour-outlines of Zuhūrī shone,

We may apply the collyrium of wonder and give our eyes to looking.

'زلهٔ بر دارِ ظهروری باش غالب بکث چيست
در سخن درویشي بايد نه دکان داري

¹ *Diwān-i-Sā'ib*.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Ghālib*, edited by Nawāb Ziya'uddin Ahmad Khān Bahādur, Dar us Salām Press, Delhi.

Note.—The second hemistich is borrowed from Zuhūrī's ode.

³ *Ibid*.

Be a crumb-eater of the table of Zuhūrī, O
 Ghālib, why dost thou dispute?
 In discourse one should beg, and not adorn
 his own shop.

. In his masnawī '*Bād-i-Mukhālif*,' Ghālib goes a little further in details and touches on Zuhūrī's powers of composition as follows :

۱ خاصه روح روان معني را
 آن ظهوري جهان معني را
 آنکه از سرفرازي سخنش
 آسمان ساست پرچم علمش
 طرز اندیشه آفريده اوست
 در تن لفظ جاں دمیده اوست
 پشت معني قوي ز پهلويش
 خامه را فربهي ز بازويش
 طرز تڪرير را نوي ازوي
 خامه ار تنگ مانوي ازوي

In particular, to the running soul of meaning
 That Zuhūrī, the world of meaning ;
 He is that when he uplifted his speech,
 The flag of it touched the sky;
 The mode of thought is created by him,
 In the body of soul, life is infused by him;

¹ Ibid., p. 92.

The back-bone of meaning is strong by his
side,
To the pen, strength is from his arm ;
To the mode of writing, newness is from
him,
The pen has become '*artang-i-Mānwrī*' from
him.

The author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* declares that Zuhūrī came as a saviour, and by giving a new foundation to the dilapidated structure of the old style of prose and poetry saved it from total collapse :

Zuhūrī : the
Saviour of
Prose.

و عالی بنای سخن را که بجهتِ مرور و دهور
ایام و عدم کد خدائے منهدم گردیده بود
تعمیر کرده پایه آنرا بدستیاری معمارِ فکر زریں
فرق فرقد ساي گردانید و زمزمه شعر و شاعری
که عنقا وار در قافِ بے تمیزیِ اهلِ زمان منزوی
بود بسخنِ سنجی و نکته گذاری آشنا
ساخت و در سوم شعر و شاعری را در نظرِ مردم
معتبر گردانید و بے غایله تکلف و شائبه تصلف
از استادانِ عديم المثال این فن است ... و اکثر
اهلِ عالم به شعریت و استادی او قایلند

¹ *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, A.S.B., MSS., Account of Zuhūrī.

And having rebuilt the lofty structure of discourse, which owing to the lapse of time and age, and for want of a master, had become dilapidated, he made its foot reach to the forehead of the Dog-star with the help of the mason of his golden thought. And the recital of verse and poetry, which, like the phoenix had been confined to the Cacasus of the ill-taste of people, was introduced by him to eloquence and subtlety ; and he made the customs of verse and versification dignified in the sight of people. And without exaggeration and least sign of prattling, he is from among the unique masters of this art, and a great many residents of the universe have implicit faith in his versification and mastery.

The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, whose views about Persian poets of Indian fame are eagerly followed by Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet, seems very reluctant to utter a word of praise for Zuhūrī, and passes on to other poets by finishing Zuhūrī's account in half a line as follows :

Āzar's and
Hidāyet's half-
hearted praise.

گویند از مستعدانِ آن دیار بوده است¹

They say that he belongs to the ready men
of that territory (India).

¹ *Ātashkada*, p. 48.

Rizā Qulī Khān merely mentions his name among the prominent contemporaries of Shāh 'Abbās. In view of the frank admissions of Sā'ib and Iskandar Munshī, half-heartedly supported by Lutf 'Alī Bēg and Rizā Qulī Khān, Zuhūrī may be placed among those fortunate few who enjoy a universal fame, and are recognised, both in India and Persia by contemporary and later critics, as masters.

Besides being a poet of great distinction, he was an effective prose-writer. This unusual combination

His Mastery of prose and poetry : an unusual combination of two separate virtues.

of two separate virtues distinguishes him from his other contemporaries. His best work in prose is the *Seh Nasr* (or the three essays), which he wrote as a preface to a book of songs composed by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, under the title of '*Nauras*.' The first and second, which are written in rich ornate style, are simply in praise of the Sultān. The first is regarded as his masterpiece, and abounds in similes and metaphors suggestively drawn from musical surroundings. It begins as follows :

سرود سراپایِ عشرت کدهٔ قال کہ بنورس سرا
بستانِ حالِ کارِ کام و زبایِ ساخهٔ بشهدِ ثنائی

¹ The original is preserved in the Rāmpūr State Library from which a copy, by special permission of H.H. the Nawāb, has been made by the author.

² *Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 1, Rizvi Press, Lucknow, 1259 A.H.
Note.—A complete text of the *Seh Nasr* (edited from a few rare manuscript copies) together with an English translation appears at the end [*vide* Appendices (A), (B) and (C)].

صانعی عذب البیان اند که چاشنیِ نعمهای
 شکرین در رگ و پیِ نِ دوانیده و خوش نفسان
 چمنِ نشاط که به بسطِ بساطِ ابنساطِ پرداخته
 برلالِ حمدِ خالقی رطبِ اللسان اند که گل
 ترانههای تراز شاخسارِ صوت و صدا دمایده ،
 محملِ حجازیانِش بصدایِ تالِ هندیان زنگله
 بند و زخمِ جگرِ عراقیانش بنمکِ تارِ طنبدورِ ترکان
 در شکرخند.....الحم

The songsters of the pleasure-house of speech (the learned) that have accomplished the work of the palate and tongue (given good relish to their appetite) with the fresh fruit of Divine ecstasy, are sweet-voiced with the honey of praise for such an Artist as has caused the taste of sweet notes to run into the veins and fibres of the reed ; and the gay-hearted denizens of the garden of mirth (poets) that have busied themselves in spreading the carpet of joy, are sweet-tongued with the fresh water of the praise of a Creator Who has grown flowers of fragrant tunes on the twigs of sound and echo (given melody to human voice). The camel of the zeal of His Hejazis (lovers) is bound with the bells at the sound of the Indian music (gets ready to dance), and the wound of His 'Irāqī's

heart sweetly smiles by the salt of the string
of the Turks' tambour.

The third has a historical value besides, and enumerates the men of skill at the court, with brief notices of their respective merits. All these three prose works are considered in India as models of ornate prose, and, though they have been immensely copied by subsequent aspirants, remain still unapproached. Among his poetical works the following are noteworthy :

(i) *Sāqī Nāma*, of which printed copies are available, was written in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. It is stated that the Shāh sent him a reward of several elephants loaded with gold, silver, and other presents. He was sitting in a coffee-house when this wealth was brought to him. On the messengers' demanding a receipt, he wrote on a slip of paper the following four words : “ تسلیم کردند تسلیم کردم ” (they surrendered, I surrendered), and in their presence distributed all that wealth among the poor and the needy.

Important poetical works.

(ii) *Kulliyāt* (Rāmpūr State Library MSS.), extending over 417 folios of large foolscap size, neatly written in close elegant 'nasta'liq.' It is dated 1074 A.H., and is divided into sections as follows :

(a) *Qasīda*.

(b) *Masnawī* ; *Tarjī'*-band (some in praise of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great) ; and *Mutai'ba*.

(c) *Rubā'ī*, covering 50 folios.

At the end of the manuscript appears the famous letter of Zuhūrī to Faizī.¹

Besides being a poet and a prose-writer, he was an adept in the art of calligraphy, and is said to have made repeated copies of *Rauzat-us-Safā* which brought him in a decent living in Persia. Among the kinds of poetry, he is chiefly noted for '*masnawī*' and in prose for his ornate diction.

In this branch he goes ahead of all his contemporaries, and both his prose and poetry are full of illustrations of the same. Ideas that Peculiarities of style :
(i) Imagination. had been repeatedly and successfully expressed before, appear under his pen in an altogether new form and a piquant robe of words. Some instances are quoted below. In the following he describes the comforts and joys of the newly-built city of Bijāpūr :

گر اکثر سرور و سرور سازند

ز خاک پاکِ بیجاپور سازند

¹ It first appeared in the collection of Faizī's letters by Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī. The one produced by 'Abdurrazzāq Sūrī in his '*Muqaddimāt-i-Zuhūrī*' printed at Lucknow, is defective and full of typographical errors.

² *Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 10.

If they make the elixir of mirth and pleasure,
They make it from the holy dust of Bijāpūr.

The following is in praise of the king's book
Nauras :

فضای دیدن بصفحانش گلشن و سواد¹
خواندن به بیاضش روشن خضر تشنه لب
سیرابی ادا مسیحا مرده جان بخشی هوا
کشد صد داستان هر صفحه در لب
وزق را گر زند انگشت بر لب

The landscape of sight is a flower-garden
from its pages, and the blunt aptitude for
reading is brightened by its whiteness.
Khizr is thirsty for the moisture of its style ;
the *Messiah* dies for its life-giving breath.

If we touch the edge of a leaf with the
finger,
Every page will begin to tell a hundred
tales.

In the following he depicts the king's power of
painting :

چکد چوں خامه بردارد بانشا²
عطارد در دواتش قطره آسا
اگر بلبل کشد آواز بشنو
دهد آواز را پرواز بشنو

¹ Ibid., pp. 16 and 18.

² Ibid., p. 12.

With the surplus income accruing from the contract of prayer for him the palm of the oyster is full of the pearl of efficacy (the oyster gets a pearl when it opens its hands to pray for him and not otherwise).

In his '*masnawī*' he has depicted scenes and described events with wonderful accuracy and real touch. One instance is as follows, wherein he describes the spring in the garden :

¹هوا سینه بر سینه گل نهاد
 چو از جیب گل تکه بکشاد باد
 وداع چمن کرد پڑ مردگی
 هوا را ز دم ریخت افسردگی
 بهار است کو ساقی جانفزا
 که آمد لطافت بسیر هوا
 بهار است نرگس قدح بر گرفت
 بروی چمن لاله ساغر گرفت
 کند کودک غنچه تا خواب ناز
 صبا مهد جنبان بدست نیاز

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS.

This he uses chiefly in his poetry to make the force of his argument felt more strongly. He advances a theory, often in the shape of giving some moral advice, in the first hemistich, and tries to prove its utility by a concrete example in the second. This is chiefly the domain of Sā'di but it will be observed that Zuhūrī also, to a great extent, followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, and succeeded in making his argument impressive as a moral teacher. The following instances are noteworthy :

(iii) Illustration.

خمشى نفعها دارد سخن پرداز مى داند
 نخستین اینکه ساکت هیچگاه ملهم نمى گردد
 چه سود از گریه شبها شگفتن نیست در صبحم
 گل پژمرده هرگز تازه از شبنم نمى گردد

Silence has benefits which the orator knows,
 The first is that a silent person is nowhere
 brought to book ;
 What is the use of shedding tears at night ?
 my morn is devoid of blossom,
 The faded rose ne'er becomes fresh from
 the dew.

سعى فرماي كه سپاب شوي از تپِ شوق
 كه اگر كشته شوي قدر تو افزون گردد

¹ *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, p. 319.

Strive that thou shouldst become quick-silver
from the heat of love,
So that if thou be killed thy value be in-
creased.

After Zuhūrī, the above style was followed by Sā'ib whose poetry was very much appreciated by Shāh Jahān and Shāh' Ābbās II. Few (iv) Homogeneity. poets have approached Zuhūrī in the use of this figure of speech. The lines quoted on pp. 194, 198, and 199, may serve as illustrations of the same.

Under this head he is known for making deviations from the established trend of thought, and introducing into it a new element and spirit which is offensive to modern taste, and is considered an endeavour in the wrong direction. He went a little too far, and instead of making his similes and channel of thought simpler, he made them more intricate, though not without charm and natural touch. Some instances are as follows :

۱ اگر مہتاب نوح کنائے بگسلد ماہ تپانچہ
خود کلف است -

If the moon breaks a thread of linen, it receives a blow which is shown by its spot.

In the above extract the spot on the face of the moon is compared with the mark of a blow.

¹ *Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 30.

تا از کاسۀ طنبورِ خورشید تار شعاعی در
 دمیدن است..... و تا بر قانونِ سخن تارِ
 نفس نواختهٔ مضربِ زبان است.....

Till as long as from the goblet of the tambour
 of the sun the wires of the rays shine out, and
 till on the guitar of speech the chord of human
 breath is played by the plectrum of the tongue.

Here the *sun* is compared with a guitar, and
speech with a musical instrument, and *breaths* with
 the wires, and the *tongue* with a plectrum.

به نمِ فوارهٔ خامه چه بنفشه زارها رسانیده

With the moisture of the fountain of his pen,
 what beds of violets he has grown !

In the above the flowing ink of the pen is compar-
 ed with a fountain, and the words it has produced
 with a bed of violets.

و تار دایِ سازش بر دوشِ طرهٔ مرغوله مویان

And the wire-box of his musical instrument
 is on the shoulder of the tresses of the curly-
 haired.

This is a very peculiar and romantic simile. The
 curly locks of the beloveds are supposed to be the
 king's wire-chest which they are carrying on their
 shoulders.

¹ Ibid., p. 23.

² Ibid., p. 78.

³ Ibid., p. 11.

فلک از ماه و خور نواله خورِ خوانِ نوال¹

The sky eats the morsel of the sun and the moon from the tray of his hospitality.

Here the sun and the moon are compared to morsels served on the king's table, which the sky is supposed to eat as the king's guest.

Space does not allow to consider similar other peculiarities which stand out in his composition.

Specimens of
his '*ghazal*.'

His '*ghazal*' is usually the work of simple imagination, and at times extremely flowing and melodious. Some specimens are as follows :

ز گد عار دارد گریبانِ ما
در آویختِ خارتِ بدامانِ ما
نسیمِ بهارِ محبتِ وزید
سمن می فشاند مگیلانِ ما
در آئینهٔ خنجرِ عشقِ کرد
جلا پروری چشمِ حیرانِ ما
ز آسیبِ مرهمِ برون آمدیم
نهان مانده زخمِ نمایانِ ما
ظهروی دگر راهزن زلف کیست
که زنار می بندد ایمانِ ما

¹ Ibid., p. 33.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS.

Note.—The first two are quoted from the Rāmpūr codex, and are not available in the printed editions,

واہ

۱ براہِ غمت پا ز سر ساختیم
 ز هر موی صد بال و پر ساختیم
 نداریم با آنکه پروای سر
 برای تو با دردِ سر ساختیم
 دل از آفتِ مرهم آسوده شد
 که زخمِ تو حرزِ جگر ساختیم
 خوشت باد ای تلخکامی برو
 که ما زهرِ خود را شکر ساختیم
 همان تیره بختیم کز برقِ آه
 شبِ غم سراسر سحر ساختیم
 چه خوش میزند غوطه ایمان بخون
 بله زهد و تقوی سپر ساختیم
 غزالے بصرای جان میگذشت
 کمندے ز تارِ نظر ساختیم
 ظهوری ازیں توبه درهم مباحث
 که با ساقیِ عشوه گر ساختیم

واژه

^۱ جان مرده در دے که پذیرای دوا نیست
 زخمی که بمرهم شود آلوده ز ما نیست
 از ذره اگر کمترم از گرم روانم
 خورشید درین راه چومن سوخته پا نیست
 بادِ نفسِ بلبش افروخته دارد
 دامن زنی آتشِ گلِ کارِ صبا نیست
 ای کرده ادا سجده ابروی تو مکراب
 بیقدر نمازیکه بیادِ تو قضا نیست
 گردیده گره حسرتِ نو در دلِ سنبل
 روزیکه ز موی تو صبا عقده کشا نیست
 دریوزه خواری نتوانند عزیزان
 دشنام شنیدن زلبت حدِّ دعا نیست
 ای چرخ جفاهای تو شد صرفِ ظهوری
 رحیم که غلط کرده احوالِ وفا نیست

واژه

^۲ جنبشِ مژگان دلم را باز در نشتر گرفت
 زخمِ آغوشی کشود و سینه را در بر گرفت

^۱ *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī*, p. 45.

^۲ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

کام را تعریفِ شیرین لعل در شکر نشاند
 مغز را سودایِ مشکین طره در عنبر گرفت
 اشک در جیب و کنارم طعنه بر اختر شمرد
 زهر در کام و زبانه نکته بر شکر گرفت
 آتشِ بال و پر پروانه جانرا نواخت
 در سمندِ شعلها از تاب خاکستر گرفت
 بر کنارِ دل بیک پیمانه مست افتاده بود
 در میانِ بیخودی پیمانه دیگر گرفت

His *masnawī* unlike his *ghazal* combines with the imaginative, the descriptive qualities, and is considered best in his composition. Some 'Masnawī.' specimens are as follows. Lines in praise of the cup-bearer :

۱ چه گویم که ساقی چها می کند
 بناز و کرشمه بلا می کند
 بهر عشوه نرگس پر فنش
 نهد خون صد توبه بر گردنش
 ز مژگان اگر ناز خنجر کشد
 شگافِ دل از سینه سر بر زند
 بر آئینِ جم حضرت می فروش
 بکف جام از بهر اربابِ هوش

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rampūr State Library MSS.

زند گر ز اعجازش انکار دم
بدستش دهد آب و آتش بهم

The following is in praise of *spring*, a topic which may be said to be almost exhausted, being so consistently taken up by almost each and every poet of Persian language. Nevertheless his treatment has a distinct charm all its own :

بهارست بے مے حرامست زیست¹
بر احوالِ زهاد باید گریست
بهارست نرگس قدح بر گرفت
بروی چمن لاله ساغر گرفت
بهارست رختِ ورع کن گرو
مٹے کہنہ دارد شگون سالِ نو
بهارست بلبل برآورد جوش
بخندید مینای قلقل فروش
بهارست کو ساقی جانفزا
کہ امد لطافت بسیرِ هوا
صبا دم زد از معجزِ عیسوی
جہانِ کہن را مبارک نوی

¹ Ibid.

عروسِ چمن گشت رشکِ بهشت
 بمشاطگی آمد اُردی بهشت
 وداعِ چمن کرد پُژمردگی
 هوا را ز دم ریخت افسردگی
 هوا سینه بر سینه گل نهاد
 چو از جیبِ گل تکه بکشد باد
 کند کودکِ غنچه تا خوابِ ناز
 صبا مهد جنبا بدستِ نباز
 مگر عزمِ میخانه دارد چمن
 که پر کرده دامان و جیب از سمن

There seems nothing very striking in his *qasida*-writing except a considerable flow which is apparently due to his great command of the language. 'Urfi, his contemporary, is superior to him in this branch. Some specimens are as follows.

In praise of the Khān-i-Khānān :

ز همه ز شوقِ رخت دیده وقفِ حیرانی¹
 بداعِ مهر و وفای تو سینه ارزانی
 بیک کنار کش ای دیده کشتی خود را
 که جوش زد ز جگر گریه های طوفانی

¹ *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, A.S.B. MSS., Account of Zuhūrī.

اسیرِ خنجرِ رنگینِ غمزه ات گِردم
 فتاده هر طرفِ صد هزارِ قربانی
 بجزود جوش بر آورده در سکرِ هوشم
 ز شوقِ خاکِ کفِ پایِ مبرزِا خانی
 فزوده رتبهٔ دیگرِ خطابِ خانی را
 چو شد ز بختِ مخاطبِ بختانِ خانانی
 به انتظامِ جهانِ نازم از عدالتِ کیست
 که جمع در شکنِ طره شد پریشانی

In praise of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh :

لذتِ نامِ تو از کامِ دماندِ شکر^۱
 نکبتِ موی تو بر مغزِ فشاندِ عنبر
 عشق را خارِ ره کعبهٔ کویت در پای
 حسن را لالهٔ بستانِ جمالت بر سر
 خواریِ عشق ترا عزتِ دایم لازم
 نخلِ اندوه ترا عزتِ جاوید ثمر
 نافهٔ حلقهٔ گیسوی تو در دامنِ شام
 سمنِ گلشنِ رخسارِ تو در جیبِ سکر

^۱ *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpūr State Library MSS.

In his *rubā'i* he generally expresses his ideas clearly and lucidly. His *rubā'iyāt*, as preserved in the Rāmpūr collections, cover full 100 pages and are written on different topics. Some specimens are quoted below.

In praise of God and the Prophet :

یارب ز عدم بروں کشیدی همه را¹
 محتاج بفضلِ خویش دیدی همه را
 کار همه را طفیلِ خود خواهد ساخت
 آنکس که طفیلش آفریدی همه را

In supplication to God :

یارب نظری که چشم جان باز کنم²
 یارب جگرے که رزم خود ساز کنم
 یارب عشقی که شور در ملکِ نهم
 یارب حسنی که بر جہاں ناز کنم

In praise of the chief of the Martyrs, Imām Husain :

ہر دل کہ بکشر بے عنا خواهد بود³
 از دوستیِ آلِ عبا خواهد بود
 گلگونۂ سرخِ رو بیِ شاہدِ عفو
 از خونِ شہیدِ کربلا خواهد بود

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

In praise of Faizi's commentary of the Qur'ān :

۱ اي خيرۂ بنورِ صفت چشم شناخت
 ذاتِ تو رقم در قلمِ وهم گداخت
 بيدانه تو کشت ميتواني پرورد
 بے نقطه تو حرف ميتواني پرداخت

Lines addressed to the beloved :

۲ يا فکرِ دلِ فگار مي بايد کرد
 يا کشتنم اختيار مي بايد کرد
 القصه ازين بيش ندارم طاقت
 يك کار ازين دو کار مي بايد کرد

His *tarjī'-band* and *mutā'iba* are melodious like his *ghazal*, and were written, as declared by himself, in close imitation of Sa'di and other great poets of Persia. One instance of the former, in praise of Shāh 'Abbās, is already quoted on p. 184 supra. Another instance is as follows :

In praise of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh :

۳ مژده اي دل که جاں بکار آمد
 در ره لايقِ نثار آمد

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

روزگارِ جفاکشان خوش باد
 مظهرِ لطفِ کردگارِ آمد
 دلِ صحرایِ چه تنگ خواهد بود
 حبذا شهرِ شهرِ یارِ آمد
 رفتِ ایامِ غصهٔ پنهان
 نوبتِ عیشِ آشکارِ آمد
 دارویِ دردِ اشتیاقِ رسید
 مرهمِ زخمِ انتظارِ آمد
 جهلِ را رونق و رواجِ نماید
 علمِ را قدر و اعتبارِ آمد
 سرِ طالعِ بیایِ رخنهٔ دوید
 ملکِ را معدلتِ حصارِ آمد
 ایمن اند اهلِ روزگارِ بیم
 گشتهٔ عالمِ مقامِ ابراهیم

The following is an instance of his *mutā'iba* (or pleasantry) :

۱ بگریمی دی یکی ز اهلِ خراسان
 گرو برد از ندیمانِ سمر قند
 کندِ کنگرِ نقل از نفسِ تافت
 باندازِ دروغِ راست مانند

ز پاسنگِ ترا زوی گزافش
 سبک گردید لبختِ کوهِ الوند
 به ترکش تیرِ تقریری که بودش
 فگند و صیدِ تصدیقی نیفگند
 بز در لاف بافی دست و پائی
 ز هر جا بست درهم مهملے چند
 نحِ کذبش اگر بگسست گھے
 بسوگندِ درستی کرد پیوند

Zuhūrī has not made so frequent use of philosophical terms in his poetry as 'Urfi has done. The former's attempts are mostly confined to make his verses melodious and his prose ornate by using appropriate and suggestive words unlike the latter whose attention is directed more to convey some thought than attend to tender phraseology and suggestive similes. Zuhūrī's powers as a descriptive poet are enormous. In his *masnawī* he has described scenes and phases of common life with considerable success. While 'Urfi in his *masnawī* falls short of this virtue and does not seem to possess gifts of description like his more fortunate contemporary. In *ghazal* it may be noted that Zuhūrī's characteristic feature is the simplicity of diction combined with natural flow which makes his poetry melodious and musical. 'Urfi on the other hand is not so simple but requires some thinking to

Contrast between Zuhūrī and 'Urfi.

grasp his meaning. Nazirī in this branch beats all his contemporaries, and combines the requisite gracefulness of word and meaning. In *qasida* 'Urfi occupies a higher place, and in fact no other poet from among his contemporaries in India or Persia can claim to be his rival. He fully makes up for his deficiency of power of description and gives us a connected and full account of whatever he describes with considerable success. His chief feature is the sublimity of thought to which Zuhūrī has not approached. In *rubā'ī* both have done well, but Zuhūrī in quantity takes the precedence. In prose 'Urfi has nothing conspicuous to compare with Zuhūrī. The chief character of the latter's prose is his figurative style which in those days was considered a merit of writing.¹

To sum up the whole, Zuhūrī based his work more on imagination and created subtleties by giving a figurative touch to his composition. He was a versatile writer, and did well both in prose and poetry. His style, unlike that of 'Urfi, drew the attention of many a distinguished contemporary and later poet who felt proud to acknowledge inspiration from his poetry.²

Certain parallel odes of 'Urfi and Zuhūrī have been quoted on pp. 174, 175 and 176 *supra*. The following is a very significant parallel of the oaths taken by both in almost the same strain :

¹ Some opinions on this point have been quoted on pp. 192, 194 and 196 *supra*.

² Cf : Sā'ib, his contemporary, and Ghālib, a later poet, quoted on pp. 190 and 191 *supra*.

'Urfi

به آبروی قناعت بذلت خواهاش
 به کامرانی فرصت به دولت دیدار
 به عیشِ ناله چنگی به دردِ ناله من
 به فیضِ سرمه مکی به گردِ کوچه یار
 به خالِ جگر به بادِ بروت عابد ازوست
 به تارِ سبکه که صوفی ازوست در زار
 به دعوتِ لبِ عابد که دوخت دلِ مراد
 به آتشِ دلِ عاشق که سوخت لوحِ مزار
 به نازِ حسن که بندد نقاب در خلوت
 به رازِ عشق که آید برهنه در بازار
 به گرمِ چشمی من در نظاره معنی
 به شرمِ گینی من در نظاره اشعار

Zuhūri

به عزِ قناعت به ذلِ طمع
 به ناموسِ رندی به فنگِ ورع
 به افغانِ چنگ و خروشِ رباب
 به سوزِ کباب و به سازِ شراب
 به تسبیحِ خوانان میخانه گرد
 به گلگونِ سرشکان رخساره زرد
 به جانِ بازیِ مردِ میدانِ عشق
 به غمازیِ مشکِ دکانِ عشق
 به حسنِ جهانِ سوزِ آتشِ مزاج
 به عشقِ تهریدست بے احتیاج
 به چشمیکه آید نگاهِ ازو
 به آن دل که بر خیزد آه ازو

به دست همت من کر کنار گوشه گرفت
 ز ننگ آنکه بدریوزه آشنا ست کنار
 به خشم او که همش حلم اوست شعله فشار
 به کنه او که همش علم اوست آئینه دار
 به سنبله که بگلزار حسن می (وید)
 نه از میانه گلشن نه گوشه گلزار
 به تنگنای گریبان به وسعت دامن
 به خاکساری کفش و به نکوت دستار

به دستے کہ بند قبائے کشاد
 به مستے کہ بر خاک ہائے فتاد
 به خوے کہ آتش بعالم زند
 به کوئے کہ از کربلا دم زند
 به تدے کہ طوبی عبارت ازوست
 به چشمے کہ در شہر غارت ازوست
 به بے دحمی چارہ ساز کسے
 به عجز ظہوری بہ ناز کسے

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Zuhūrī*, Rāmpur State Library MSS.

² *Qasā'id-i-'Urfī*, pp. 20-22.

At the end of his third prose, while he was still writing it, he declares himself then to be in the seventieth year,¹ thus establishing the fact that he lived up to an advanced age. According to Badāūnī, he was murdered by some malicious people in Deccan. The year of his death according to most biographers is 1025 A. H. He was a contented sort of man, and did not care much for monetary gains. He was persistently invited by Faizī and the Khān-i-Khānān to come to the Mughal capital, but he did not leave Deccan in spite of these persuasions. Also, the easy way in which he distributed the wealth sent him by Burhān Nizām Shāh, shows the generosity of his nature. It is stated that the Khān-i-Khānān, after wresting the kingdom of Ahmadnagar from Burhān Nizām Shāh, showed Zuhūrī great kindness and asked him to accompany him to Āgra, but the former, while acknowledging in a *qasīda* the graciousness of the latter, begged for permission to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, in spite of the fact that he had already made the necessary pilgrimage. The Khān-i-Khānān could not refuse such a request, and provided him with provisions. But on return of the Khān-i-Khānān to Āgra, Zuhūrī through the stress of circumstances, postponed his intended pilgrimage and attached

¹ Cf :

هر چند که در چهل و هفتاد سال نهال طیبیت شکفته بر افشانی کرده... الخ
[*Seh Nasr-i-Zuhūrī*, pp. 81 and 82.]



Tulsī Das : the famous poet of Hindi, flourished
at Benares

himself to the court of Bijāpūr where he breathed his last.

He was a celebrated Hindī poet¹ and contributed much to the growth of Urdū. His famous poem, the Rāmāyana, which is different from that of Vālmiki, was written in Hindī. The subject is the adoration of Rāma who is viewed by the poet as the supreme God. It is a work which is revered by millions of Hindūs as a religious book and its morality and expression directly appeal to the heart. He was the son of some poor Brāhman who is said to have forsaken the child in his very infancy due to the whim of his having been born under certain evil influences. He was picked up by a kind-hearted Sādhū who brought him up with all the care and affection of a father. Having lived for some years in Bundēlkhand, he finally settled at Benāres, the home of religious learning, where he brought his great task, the Rāmāyana, to a finish. Although Abul Fazl has not mentioned his name in the list of the court poets of Akbar (which seems due to the poet's not being in the service of the

Tulsī Dās : his
life and works.

¹ Sir George Grierson has noticed this poet in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," Vol. II (Chapter on Vernacular Literature), and some of his articles appear in the "Indian Antiquary," Vol. XXII. Also, an account is given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his "Vaishnavism Saivism," pp. 74-76 (in Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie, etc., Strassburg, 1913). I am indebted to Professor Rapson for this information.

emperor)¹ he was in a way connected with the Mughal court, being patronized by the Khān-i-Khānān. Abul Fazl has, on the other hand, mentioned Sūr Dās, another equally important Hindī poet, under musicians, only because he was directly connected with the court. Similarly other notable persons like Tān Sēn, Rām Dās Kalāwant, Miyān Lāl and Rang Sēn, who were at the court, have not been omitted. The part played by Tulsī Dās in the formation and growth of modern Urdū is considerable, and is described in Chapter V which deals with the progress of Urdū in the reign of Akbar. He died at the ripe age of 91 towards the close of 1033 A.H. on the banks of the Ganges at Benāres. The following suggestive verse, composed by a later Hindī poet, gives the date of his demise :

سمیت سولہ سو اسی ' اسی گنگ کے تیر
ساون شوکلا ستمی ' تلسی تجیو شریر

The one shining orb in the horizon of literary patronage at the Mughal court and in the whole empire of Asia is the dazzling personality of the *Khān-i-Khānān* who deserves a foremost place as supporter of Persian art and literature among the contemporary rulers of Persia, India, Central Asia, and Turkey. Akbar

'Abdurrahīm
Khān-i-Khānān : greatest
patron of Per-
sian poetry in
the East.

¹ Cf : The reason suggested by Vincent Smith :

" Although the poet numbered among his friends and admirers both Rāja Mān Singh of Amber, and the Khān-i-Khānān (Mīrza 'Abdurrahīm), the two most power-



‘Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān
(*Delhi Museum of Archaeology, L.E.A. C.D., 1911*)

among the Asiatic monarchs was undoubtedly eminent but his court-noble 'Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān was pre-eminent. His greatness as a patron may well be realised by the compliments of Persian poets who sang his praises at the Persian court and in the face of the Shāh himself. A Persian poet Rasmi Qalandar in a very significant poem enumerates his colleagues who went over to India and thrived under the liberal patronage of the Khān-i-Khānān.

Persia's great
tribute.

زِ مِینِ مدحِ تو آن نکته سنج شیرازی
رسید صیتِ کلامش به روم از خاور

ful nobles of Akbar's later years, he does not appear ever to have been brought to the notice of either the Emperor or Abul Fazl. Probably the explanation may be that the two nobles named did not become acquainted with the poet until after the death of Akbar in 1605." [Akbar, the Great Mogul, pp. 417-418.]

It is significant that a person of that name has been mentioned by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad among the friends and followers of the Khān-i-Khānān, when he was sent by the Emperor to Gujarāt in 991 A. H. Cf :

میرزا خان ولد پیرم خان با جاگیرداران صوبہ اجمیر..... و دیگر
سادات بارہہ درای درگاہ..... و رامچندر و اودے سنگھ پسران رویی
و سنگو راجپوت و نسبی دلسی و راج سنگھ و دیگر مردم کہ تفصیل
آن دراز اسف... الخ (Tabaqat-i-Akbarī, p. 357.)

¹ This is quoted by Shibli, and Browne. The last line has been omitted by both, and is given by Mīrza Asad Bēg Turk-mān, in his Bayāz.

بطرز تازه ز مدح تو آشنا گردید
 چو روی خوب که یابد ز ماسطه زیور
 ز فیض نام تو فیضی گرفت چون خسرو
 به تیغ هندی اقلیم سبعة را یکسر
 ز زله خواری خوانت نظیری شاعر
 رسیده است بجای که شاعران دگر
 کنند بهر مدیکش قصیده انشا
 که خون رشک چکد از دل سخن پرور
 سواد شعر شکیبی چو کحل اصفاهان
 به تحفه سوي خراسان برند اهل نظر
 ز مدح تو حیاتی حیات دیگر یافت
 بلے مقوی طبع عرض بود جوهر
 حدیث نوعی و کفوی بیان چه سازم من
 چو زنده اند بمدح تو تا دم مکشر
 ز نعمت توبه نوعی رسید آن مایه
 که یافت میر معزی ز نعمت سنجر
 ز گلبن املش صد چمن گل امید
 شگفت تا که بمدح تو شد زبان آور

Through the boon of thy praise that weigher
of subtle points--native of Shirāz
(Urḡ),
The fame of his poetry reached to Rūm from
the East ;
He became acquainted with a new style
through praising thee,
As a handsome face gains ornament from the
tire-woman;
From the bounty of thy name Faizī captured
like Khusrau
The seven climes with the Indian sword;
Through eating crumbs at thy table, Nazirī
the poet
Has attained a position that other poets
Write each in praise of him a *qasīda* so
beautiful
That the blood of envy drips from the heart
of an eloquent poet ;
The ink of the verse of Shakirī, like the
collyrium of Isfahān,
The people of sight carry as a present towards
Khurāsān ;
From thy praise Hayātī got a second
life,
Ay, the essence is the strengthener of the
accident;
What should I narrate the tale of Nau'ī and
Kufwī;
Since they live through thy praise till the
morn of Resurrection ;

که نبود در سخن د انانِ دوراں
 خریدارِ سخن جز خانخانان

That in Persia no one comes within sight,
 Who is a customer of the commodity of mean-
 ing ;
 In Persia the palate of my soul has become
 bitter,
 Go I ought towards Hindūstān ;
 Like a drop towards the ocean I may send,
 I may send my commodity to India ;
 For there is not among the learned of the age,
 The customer of speech except the *Khān-i-*
Khānān.

As a poet of Persian language he excelled many professional poets at the court, and wrote fluently under the pen-name '*Rahīm*.' Abul Fazl writes that he was a versatile man and composed verses in Persian, Arabic, Turkī, Sanskrit, and Hindī. He was a friend of Tulsī Dās and encouraged and admired his Hindī poetry. At the death of his father (Bairam Khān) he was four years old, and was brought up under the fostering care of Akbar who provided him with the best education that could be had. He did signal services to Akbar, and distinguished himself like his late father on the battlefield. In the year 991 A.H. he was put in command of the army sent against Sultān Muzaffar Gujarātī, and succeeded in conquering Gujarāt, which earned him the proud title of his

His merits
 as a poet.

father, the “*Khān-i-Khānān*.”¹ He translated the ‘*Wāqī‘āt-i-Bāburī*’ from Turkī into Persian, and was well-versed in Muslim history. After Akbar’s death

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 358.

Note.—There were no regular institutions for military education. The experience gained in practical warfares and by watching the tactics of fighting units and remaining with them was the only school of military training. It is also to be noticed that the titles *atālīq*, *munshī* and *malik-ush-shu‘ārā*, at the court of the Mughal sovereigns were decorations held not merely by virtue of literary ability, but their holders were practical officers commanding armies and leading them successfully in battles against veteran foes. Faizi and Abul Fazl are further instances of same. This study is peculiarly interesting and throws a new light on this age in which pen-men, Mullās, and Sūfis played the part of statesmen and administrators who could successfully handle the foreign policy of the State. The influence that the Sūfis exercised in this connection is enormous. From the reign of Timūr down to the death of Aurangzeb, there is not a single period in which the Sūfis did not act as peace-makers or plenipotentiaries between the two fighting powers. Cf. the influence of Shaikh Zainuddīn Abū Bakr on Timūr in his aggressive and peaceful policy. [*Vide Zafar Nāmā* and *Tuzuk-i-Timūrī*.] Also, cf. Khwaja Ahrāri’s influence in stopping a terrible war that had begun among the three great kings of Central Asia : Unus Khān, ‘Umar Shaikh, and Sultān Ahmad :

خان در مرغینان بود که حضرت قطب دایرة ارشاد ... به مرغینان آمدند
که میان خان و عمر شیخ مرزا و سلطان احمد آشتی دهند چون این
خبر در سلاطین نال شد رسید همه جاهای خود توقف کردند چون حضرت
ایمان رسیدند در لشکر میرزا سلطان احمد نزول فرمودند و کس پیش



Shaikh Salim Chishti at Fathpur Sikri

he served under Jahāngīr for about twenty years, and died in 1036 A.H., aged 71 years and some months. He was buried in Delhi near the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya. His memory will live so long as Persian poetry survives in India. His poetic taste and powers have been described by many a contemporary historian other than Abul Fazl, like Badāūnī, 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, who declare that he was a refuge of the learned, and poets like 'Urfī and Nazīrī were benefited by his criticism. Shibli Nu'mānī has quoted two similar odes of Nazīrī and the Khān-i-Khānān, which are reproduced here by way of specimen and contrast :

خان و عمر شین میرزا فرستادند متضمن صلح و نفس مبارک ایشان را هیچ
کس نمی توانست رد کرد

[*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, B.M. MSS. Or. 157, foll. 66b & 77b.]

Also, cf. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwalīrī's coming to Bābur as special messenger of Rahīm Dād, one of Bābur's staunch enemies, to secure amnesty for him [*Vide supra* p.].

Also, cf. Shaikh Khalīl, a holy *darwīsh*, was sent by Humāyūn to Shēr Khān to settle peace terms :

تا آنکه مصلحت دیدند که با شیر خان به صلح پیش آیند و مصالحت نمایند بنا
بریں مصلحت مشیخت مآب سلالة المشایخ شین خلیل از اولاد قطب
الاقطاب شین الاسلام شین نرید شکر گنج را جوت آفتی پیش شیر خان فرستادند

[*Tazkirāt-ul-Wāqī'āt*, B.M. MSS. Add. 16,711, fol. 22a.]

Shibli's comparison of the Khān-i-Khānān's ode with Nazirī's

Khān-i-Khānān

شمارِ شوقِ ناهانسته ام که تا چند ست
جز این قدر که دلم سخت آرزو مند ست
به کیشِ صدق و صفا حرفِ عهد بیکار ست
نگاهِ اهلِ محبت تمام سوگند ست
نه دامِ دامن و نه دانه اینقدر دامن
که پایِ تا بسرش هرچه هست در بند ست
مرا فروخت محبت ولے ندانستم
که مشتری چه کس ست و بهای من چند ست
ادایِ حقِ محبت عنایتی ست ز دوست
و گر نه خاطرِ عاشق بهیچ خرسند ست
ازان خوشم به سخنهای دلکش تو رحیم
که اندک به اداهای عشق مانند ست

Nazirī

بهرِ اهلِ غرضِ قرب و بعد ما بند ست
دلِ شکسته ما را هزار پیوند ست
ازان دم که بحسرت فگنده دیدن او
نگه بگوشه چشم هنوز در بند ست
نظرِ دلیر نشد تا مره به پیش آمد
حجاب اگر بر سر کاه ست کوهِ الوند ست
در از دستِ حسن که گل بچشم ریخت
که تا بدامن از جیب در شکر خند ست
به کینه جوئی افلاک عشق می باز
که هر که دشمن ما شد به دوست مانند ست
نظیری از تو بجان کندن ست لب بکشی
باین قدر که بگوئی بهیچ خرسند ست

² Ibid.

¹ *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. III, p. 14.

He was also a competent scholar of Sanskrit, and a most popular poet of Hindī, whose verses directly appealed to the hearts of the Hindūs and the Muslims alike. His contributions to Urdū, like those of his two colleagues, Tulsī Dās and Sūr Dās, are of immense magnitude, and will be discussed in Chapter V, which deals with the growth of Urdū language under Akbar.

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CHAPTER III

(B) HISTORIANS

It has been said of the great historian Abul Fazl that the monarchs of Asia stood more in awe of his pen than the sword of Akbar.

Abul Fazl
as a politician :
his Akbar Nā-
ma a great po-
litical move :
its aims and
objects.

He was the son of Shaikh Mubārak, one of the greatest scholars of the age, and younger brother of Faizī, the poet-laureate of Hindūstān.¹ He is famous as a historian but insufficiently known as a politician. The production of the Akbar Nāma is his greatest *tour de force* as a statesman, for behind it was a definite political motive. The first thing that strikes the reader in his style is not so much the outer phase of his grand phraseology in which he indulges, as the inner meaning which his allegorical narrative embodies. His ornate style serves to cover his political intentions as a practical administrator and to please people and win their sympathy, for he knew too well that to write in their accredited style and language would ensure better popularity and acceptance of his views. There will not be found wanting in his diction any adjectival phrase or title that was borne by the monarchs of Asia that he has not

¹ Cf : Four other brothers : Abul Barakāt, Abul Khair, Abul Makārim and Abul Hasan (also called Abū Turāb).



Abul Fazl — the great historian and General of Akbar
(Loan Exhibition of Antiques, Coronation
Durbar, 1911)

used it for his own sovereign, Akbar.¹ This shows that his style was not merely ornate but had a definite political significance, *viz.*, to overawe the Persian monarchs and the Sultāns of Turkey and keep their heads cool against any aggressive thoughts. The Mughal Empire was the richest in Asia, and it was not unlikely that the two great rival kings might any day mature plans to lead an attack on India. The relations of the State with Turkey and Persia had drawn closer since

¹ Cf : "Muhi'uddīn wal millat," "Mu'izz-i-Saltanat," Jāhān Panāh," Zillullāh," and "Sāhibqirān": titles of his predecessors : Timūr and his sons : rulers of Central Asia.

"Shahinshāh," "Imām," and "Imām-i-'Adil," "Mujtahid-i-waqt wa daurān," "Jamshid," etc.: titles of Persian kings.

"Khalīfa" (with flexible terminology as "Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī," "Khalīfa-i-Zamān," "Khalīfatullāh"), "Amir ul Mu'minīn," "Sultān ul Islām," and "Ghāzī": titles of the Abbāsīd Sultāns of Turkey.

"Khāqān" - title of the emperor of China, subsequently adopted by all the monarchs of Asia.

All these titles are to be met with in the Akbar Nāma and the Ā'in-i-Akbarī. The more important of them like "Āmir ul Mu'minīn," "Imām-i-'Ādil," Sultān-ul Islām" and "Sultān ul Muslimīn" appear in the Infallibility Decree of 1579. [Badā'ūnī, Vol II, p. 271.]

Some of them were recognised by contemporary historians like Nizāmuddin Ahmad and Farishta, and were subsequently used by later chroniclers for their own sovereigns.

This aspect of Abul Fazl's style was first noticed by F. W. Buckler in his new Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree (JRAS., October 1924, p. 607.) In this paper Mr. Buckler has unearthed an entirely new conception of the interplay of politics and religion under Akbar.

Humāyūn's flight to and return from the latter. Not only did the Persian commissioned officers like the ambassadors and aides-de-camp visit the Mughal court at intervals, but that the Persian nobility and private citizens like traders, craftsmen, and among Persian intelligentsia, poets and scholars, had swarmed the court. The visit of the Turkish Admiral Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs to the court of Humāyūn, and his remaining there as the emperor's guest and personal friend until his death and the accession of Akbar, had opened a new chapter in the foreign politics of the State, and brought the two powers nearer in their relations. The Turkish Admiral during his long stay had seen the weaknesses of the State, with its numerous implacable enemies like Hēmū and the Pathān and the Rājput Princes, and was sure to report what chances the flag of the *Amīr-ul-Mūminīn* and the recognised *Khalīfa* of the Muslim world would have in India. Abul Fazl as a shrewd statesman foresaw the peril and the temptations of the rival kings against the Mughal Empire, and worked as a devoted servant of Akbar to ward off this danger by all possible means. It was due to this apprehension that his pen worked out a miracle in the shape of *Akbar Nama* which in its variety of information and display of the strength of the Empire is without a parallel in the history of the Mughal rule, and the like of which was not produced in the contemporary Persia. Abul Fazl's point of view was Indian as was that of Akbar. This Indian point of view is lurking in every page and loses its disguise in his praises of Akba .

A critical estimate of Abul Fazl and his work is given by Blochmann and Jarrett in their translation of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. The former seems to have gauged better than his successor the trend of Abul Fazl's thoughts and his objective, and he has written strongly in support of Abul Fazl's merits as a writer and the chief historian of Akbar :

Critical estimate of Abul Fazl's work as a historian.

“ His marvellous powers of expression fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the Akbar Nāma and the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book, which he wished to leave to future ages as a memorial of the Great Emperor and as a guide for enquiring minds ; and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people. . . shew that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom.”¹

Jarrett, while admitting that “ the work will deservedly go down to posterity as a unique compilation,” accuses Abul Fazl of flattery and florid style :

“ His narrative affects a quaint and stiff phraseology which renders it often obscure, and continues in an even monotone, never rising or falling save in reference to the Emperor whose lightest mention compels the adoring prostration of his pen, and round

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, Preface, p. vi.

whom the world of his characters and events revolves as its central sun.”¹

It may in fairness be admitted that his encomium as a chronicler has certainly transgressed all bounds of propriety and is even shocking to good taste, but seen from the eyes of a loyal and devoted servant of the Emperor it was not too much, nor was it offensive to the current taste and the custom prevailing at the two courts. Jarrett, like so many others, sees the outer and more exposed surface of Abul Fazl’s work, but does not adequately realise the political depth concealed under his parables.² The *Ā’in-i-Akbarī* and the *Akbar Nāma* are not two separate books. The former is only a concluding

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, p. vi.

Note.—This supports the view of Abul Fazl’s political theory which has not been sufficiently realised by the learned critic. Abul Fazl, as is already hinted, strives in every page to show to the world that Akbar was a mighty monarch on earth. Blochmann views it in a different light which is equally significant. He observes that “we may pardon Abul Fazl when he praises because he finds a true hero.” Vol. I, p. vi.

² Abul Fazl is really resorting to description by parable or parallel instead of definition. This practice is very common in the East, particularly among the Sūfis and other mystical writers, and illustrated by the following passage from the Gospels :

“ All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables; and without a parable spake he not unto them.”
[Mt. 13. 34 ; also cf: 13. 10. 16 ; 4. 12 ; and Lk. 8. 10.]

The motive of such a method is probably due to an attempt to escape the wiles of the legal mind. (Cf. Lk. 10. 25—30). The object

part of the latter. The first volume of the *Akbar Nāma* deals with the history of the house of Timūr down to Akbar's accession, while the second and the third are the chronicles of Akbar's own regime. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, which properly speaking forms the fourth volume of the *Akbar Nāma*, is divided into five books, of which the first three treat of Akbar's domestic, civil, military, and judicial staff, and the elite of the court. The last two are devoted to a consideration of the social conditions of the people, their crafts, and literary achievements, more especially the Hindu philosophy and law, and Akbar's own thought which was gathered by Abul Fazl under 'Precepts of Akbar.'

Abul Fazl was born in 958 A.H. and was first introduced at the court by Faizī in 982 A.H., when Akbar was enjoying comparative relief from his incessant wars after crushing his enemies, and warding off the danger that had in the beginning shaken the empire to its foundation.

Abul Fazl's birth and his coming to the court.

of Abul Fazl was similar; he had to face the 'Ulamā of three countries, Persia, Turkey, and even India, and it was necessary to give them no loop-hole. It may be doubted whether Abul Fazl derived his inspiration of the treatment of Akbar's kingship from the teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom of Heaven, although he knew the Bible well and had translated the New Testament into Persian.

Cf : the statement :

پایا میگویند انجیل آورده و دلائل برتالی ثلاثه گذرانیده و
شیخ ابوالفضل به ترجمه آن مامور گشت -

[Badā'ūnī, Vol. II, p. 260.]

A few days later he came again and presented to the Emperor a commentary on the '*Āyat-ul-Kursī*' (a chapter of the Qur'ān), and was much praised at the court for his intelligent exposition of it. Badāūnī remarks that though people said that it was the work of Shaikh Mubārak, Abul Fazl was complimented in the assembly.¹ His other important works are the "*Āyār-i-Dānish*" (touch-stone of knowledge), and the *Ruqqa'āt* (letters), which have been lithographed, and are still widely read in India.

He was incorruptibly honest in the public services, and was devotedly attached to the Emperor. By his sheer wisdom and gifts of intellect he rose to the high rank of Minister of the State, and became a favourite with Akbar. He was a rare combination of a profound scholar, a great Munshī, a distinguished historian and a writer on state-craft, splendid statesman, a brilliant administrator, an able general and an accomplished courtier, and his house like that of the *Khān-i-Khānān* was distinguished for military service.² Among the several aspects of Abul Fazl's public life his foreign policy, which he pursued as Secretary of State for foreign affairs, is of special political import-

His public
policy, character,
and death.

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. II, p. 198.

² Cf: Abul Fazl's son 'Abdurrahmān distinguishing himself in the battle of Talingāna and defeating Malik 'Ambar and capturing his territory. He also received the title of "Afzal Khān" from Jahāngīr for his military services.

ance. He was in the Cabinet of Royal Ministers, *i.e.*, those who had portfolios, and controlled both, the House of Commons and the House of Lords, of which he was the chief organiser. He has mentioned both these institutions as *دارِ اعلیٰ* and *دارِ خالص* under the *Ā'in-i-Bār*. As a powerful chief Minister of Akbar, his relations with the fresh bands of visitors from foreign and allied countries were always very delicate. The merchant class and other influential units, comprising ambassadors, Sūfis, 'Ulamā, and the political propagandists in the garb of innocent people, used to visit the court of Akbar in large numbers. The houses of Abul Fazl, Faizī, and the Khān-i-Khānān, were among the chief places of resort where the new-comers used to take shelter on their first arrival. These three personalities were renowned throughout the country for their hospitality and generous reception, without bias of religion, caste or creed. Abul Fazl had another delicate duty of introducing political emissaries to the court, and commending them to the notice of Akbar according to the dignity of their office and rank. The impression that they thus carried with them of the extent of the splendour of the court, and the strength of the Empire, vitally rested on Abul Fazl's shrewdness in the performance of his task. His drafts on questions of peace, alliance, and warfare, and on various social and political points of first-rate importance, on which the welfare of the State materially depended, are simply marvellous, and give an impression that he was not merely a Persian scholar or a *Mullā* of the 16th century, but a clear-headed politician, and

one of the wisest and far-sighted statesmen that the world has seen in the modern times. His letters to the monarchs of Persia, Turkey, Europe, and Central Asian States, are preserved in the contemporary and later records, and may be read by the students of political history with material advantage and gain. He was in command of the army of Deccan in 1006 A.H., and before this had fought many a battle with a skill and tact which had endeared him to Akbar. In 1011 A.H., when he was returning from Deccan, on being recalled by the Emperor, he was murdered by the men of Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundela Chieftain, whom Salīm had deputed to this nefarious task, on the ground of Abul Fazl's suspected infidelity to himself, as being a cause of bringing him into disfavour with Akbar.¹ He was generous and large-hearted and was kind to all his friends and foes alike.

¹ Akbar on hearing of his death was moved to tears and did not take food for two days. He felt his loss more than that of his own son, and said, "O Salīm, if you aspired to be king, you should have rather killed me and not Abul Fazl." No one had actually dared to carry this news to him, and it could only be conveyed through a symbol. His grief and attachment can also be estimated by the following elegiac verse which he is said to have composed and often recited in the open court :

شیخِ ما از شوق بیدادِ چوں سوی ما آمده
 ز اشتیاقِ پایِ بوسی بی سرو پا آمده

No other instance of such a consideration and love for a servant can be quoted in Mughal history.

His character as described by the author of *Ma'āsir-ul-'Umarā* was that he was of lofty ideals, and wished to live at peace with all men. A great point in his character was that he did not accept a title, although his own brother was "*Malik ush-Shu'arā*," and other officials and dignitaries were distinguished by "*Khān*," "*Mulk*," "*Sadr*" and similar titles.

His views on religion like his brother, Faizī, by the scrupulous and orthodox section as a free thinker and an atheist, and is said to have betrayed Akbar from the luminous path of Islām in conspiracy with other free-thinkers and pantheists at the court.

His style. His style in the *Akbar Nāma* materially differs from that of his other works like the '*Ayār-i-Dānish*, the '*Ruqqa'āt* and his own autobiography which he appended to the third volume of the '*Ā'in-i-Akbarī*.'¹ The language of the *Akbar Nāma* is not simple. The sentences are involved, and full of parentheses, in whose many

¹ This point is very significant as showing that in the *Akbar Nāma* he adopted a peculiar style suited to his purpose and political need, e.g., his letters to refractory officers and unwilling *amīrs* are couched in threatening language with a patronising tone, and a clever phraseology suggesting promotions and rewards without committing himself or his master to their fulfilment in any way. The conclusions drawn on this basis by English historians are very shallow and superficial. They have missed a great point and entirely misunderstood the significance of Abul Fazl's diction. They go to accuse him of floridity and bombast rather than

intricacies the sense is often lost. The construction which he uses is somewhat of a peculiar nature, and seems to be his own invention.¹ Often he goes to some four or five hundred years back, and uses the old and almost obsolete Persian words and compounds in the manner of Firdausī to the exclusion of the current and more accepted ones. At other times he adopts high-sounding constructions and words of learned length emanating from Arabic vocabulary, and a long train of adjectives which were used in his day in classics. His style in works other than the *Akbar Nāma* is that of an average *Munshī*, and though ornate and priggish occasionally, is in accordance with the established usages, and is on the whole

appreciate his point of view. Vincent Smith for example observes:

“His prose style as read in Mr. Beveridge’s translation of the *Akbar Nāma* is intolerable to me. Simple facts are wrapped in a cloud of almost meaningless rhetoric and an indelible impression is produced on the mind of the reader that the author lacks sincerity.”

[*Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 416.]

This same fact shows that he used a diplomatic language purposefully in this work, and it was not his real style.

² There are certain works of approaching similarity like the *Tārīkh-i-Wassāf*, and the *Tauqī‘āt-i-Kisrā* to which the *Akbar Nāma* may be said to correspond in a general way of floridity and lengthiness of phrases, but not in the formation of its compounds, use of verbs, and construction of sentences. It is therefore hard to suggest a parallel from among the known works of Persian language before or of his time, which bear the same sort of phraseology and construction.

easy and graceful. Some common features are summed up as follows :

- (a) Unrestricted use of kindred words with rhythmic force :

¹ که باتفاقِ جمیع اربابِ ملل و نحل
و اصحابِ دین و دول مشخص و معین و مدلل
و مبرهن است -

- (b) Use of parallel words and phrases :

² مخفی و محتجب نیست که درین عالم
ناسوت که مراتِ عالمِ لاهوت است هیچ چیز
بر محبتِ فایق نیست و هیچ امری بر مودت
لایق نه -

- (c) Use of adjectives with opposite attribute
(known as figure antithesis):

³ ۱ - خصوصاً آن پیر سالِ جوانِ عمل
۲ - پیرِ صورتِ جوانِ سیرت
۳ - کهنِ سالانِ نورِ سیده

¹ *Maktūbāt-i-Abul Fazl*, p. 29, A. S. B. Calcutta, 1827.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

(d) Use of long Arabic compounds and phrases in Persian constructions :

- ۱^۱ - خصوصاً بآن سلطنت مآب خلافت
 قباب مورد تجلیات معنوی مکی مراسم
 عیسوی المستغنی عن التوصیف و التعریف
 ۲ - کہ دخترِ بے واسطہ مشہور فی الاکناف
 والاطراف المستغنی عن الاوصاف... الخ

(e) Use of Persian words and phrases for the sake of agreement with rhyme so as to make the diction ornate :

- ۱^۲ حکمت مآب فطانت آیات حق شناس
 حقیقت اساس واقف مواقف معارف و معانی
 سالک دور بینی و کاردانی بردہ کشای غوامض
 حکمت الہی نکتہ دان رموز سفیدی و
 سیاہی... الخ
 ۲ - حکیم نامی مخلص گرامی قدوہ
 محرمان زبدہ لقمان حکیم ابوالفتح گیلانی
 ازین سراى فانی و تنگنای ظلمانی... الخ

¹ Ibid., pp. 29—39.

² Ibid., pp. 40-41.

(f) In the same sentence the writer puts himself at will sometimes in the first person and sometimes in the third :

و صکت و مسرت آن وحید الدهر را از خدای
مهربان مسألت مینماید و در لوازم دوستی از خود
شرمنده نیست حضور و غیب یکسان چه گویم که
دروغ گفته باشم

No other history of the reign of Akbar, or of any other Mughal emperor, was written on so elaborate a scale as the Akbar Nāma.¹ Nizām-uddin Ahmad and Farishta both compliment Abul Fazl on its production, and with acknowledgment to him derive their information on the period of Akbar from his work. Abul Fazl's privilege as a high official gave him access to all the open and secret records of the State as well as Akbar's personal and domestic documents, which gave his work a precision and minuteness beyond the reach of other historians. Such a detailed minute-book of Akbar's regime, comprising of statistics and gazetteer, and supplying varied information on the social, political, religious literary, judicial, civil, military, agricultural, and economic progress of the country, is without a parallel in the whole history of Hindūstān.

¹ Ibid., p 94.

² The one approaching instance is *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, which is but a copy of *Akbar Nāma* on a small scale.

There seems to be some basis for the compilation of the *Akbar Nāma*. Some hold that Albīrūnī's

Basis of Akbar
Nāma : sug-
gested to be
(i) Albīrūnī's
India or (ii) Fir-
dausi's Shāh
Nāma.

India is the basis of this work. Others think that Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma*¹ might be a probable incentive to Abul Fazl for his undertaking this huge task. There seems to be no doubt that there was some ideal before the mind of Abul Fazl, which prompted him to undertake this work. In both the suggestions there is some truth which imparts colour to the pages of the *Akbar Nāma*. In Albīrūnī's India, we have a detailed description of the Hindū philosophy, sciences, and social and religious cults with occasional contrast with the Muslim and Greek doctrines. In Abul Fazl's work too, we find chapters devoted exclusively to a consideration of the Hindū law and philosophy and other social and religious customs, with almost the same zeal.² Similarly we have in Abul Fazl's work certain internal points which closely resemble those in Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma*. The most obvious is the spirit in which the authors undertook their task. Firdausī idolized his hero and worked more for the love of his country than for the reward in money. The same applies to Abul Fazl whose national feeling and devotion were no less than Firdausī's.³

¹ This was suggested to me by Prof. F. W. Buckler.

² Cf., chapters IV and V of Vol III, of the '*Ā'in-i-Akbarī*' exclusively devoted to Hindū religion and philosophy.

³ It may be noted that the satire of Firdausī on Sultan Mahmūd was only an after-thought and was the outcome of the shock of despair which he met with in his old age by reason of the non-fulfilment of the promise made to him by the Sultān.

In addition to the above two suggested models there is in the opinion of the present writer one which, in its diverse points of resemblance, recommends itself much more strongly than any other yet known, and it is the *Zafar Nāma* of Sharafuddin 'Alī Yazdī. Abul Fazl now and then refers to it in a manner which suggests that he aspires to compete with Sharafuddin, and to write his *Akbar Nāma* after the style of *Zafar Nāma*. He also compares one phase of his narrative with that of Sharafuddin, drawing a parallel between his description and that of himself. There is a significant passage in which Abul Fazl tries to show that Akbar was greater in kingdom, and his wealth and booty were many times more than Timūr's.¹

¹ Cf: مولانا شرف الدین علی یزدی در ظفرنامہ در میازت حضرت صاحبقرانی کہ در ہند بظہور آمد شرح ملاحظات بہادران لشکر و عظمیٰ دالئی ہندوستان چگونہ بیان می کند و بتاخر مرقوم می سازد کہ صد و بیست فیل جنگی دران جنگ عظیم بتصرف اولیای دولت درآمد و بر تاریخ دانان ہشیلو مغر حال دالئی آن زمان روشن است کہ بہ نسبت ہمہ کدام پایہ را داشت و درین کار نامہ عبرت افزا (یعنی اکبر نامہ ۱۲) کہ اندکی از بہار گوارش یافتہ ہزار و پانصد فیل بدست فرمان پذیران بارگاہ والا در آمد سایر معاملات را ازین قیاس میتوان کرد و کمیت خزائن و سایر اسباب و آلات فرمان روائی خود کجا بشمار در آید -

[Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 44.]

Abul Fazl's own language suggests that there is a veiled desire on his part to write out a record of the glorious achievements of Akbar on the battlefield, and to proclaim him as a mighty king upon earth, more than was accomplished by Sharafuddin for his sovereign Timūr. The same extract is suggestive of the fact that Abul Fazl attempts to compare Akbar in all aspects of his government with Timūr, and himself with his historian, Sharafuddin 'Alī Yazdī.

Many a title like 'Sāhibqirān,' 'Abul Fath,' 'Jahān Panāh,' 'Mu'izz-i-Saltanat,' 'Muhi-ul-Millat,' etc., which Abul Fazl uses for Akbar, is evidently taken from the *Zafar Nāma*. Again there is the closest similarity between the two titles.¹ All these points in the shape of external and internal evidence are so many proofs of *Zafar Nāma* being the basis of *Akbar Nāma* that it cannot be thrown out of consideration.

Albirūnī's India, on the other hand, is in Arabic, and is not the history of any king or government.

Reasons why *Albirūnī's India* and *Shāh Nāma* cannot be the basis. It is a description of the Hindū thought in all its phases, undertaken at the suggestion of Abu Sahl 'Abdul Mun'im of Tiflis, and written for and dedicated to nobody. It is thus a work of love and a research of high order unlike the political stuff and the statistics of a historian whose object, in the case of Abul Fazl, was to please his sovereign and to make it a political success. Similarly the *Shāh Nāma*, which is in Persian verse, cannot be compared with Abul Fazl's prose-work, except in the one major phase already noticed.² Besides, there are certain minor points which, though in common with the *Shāh Nāma* and the *Zafar Nāma*, assert themselves more in favour of the latter.

¹ Abul Fazl seems to have given the title of *Akbar Nāma* to his work in imitation of Sharafuddīn 'Alī's *Zafar Nāma* (also called by some *Timūr Nāma*).

Vide p. 244 *supra*.

CHAPTER IV

Tennyson says in his notes to his poem on "Akbar's Dream" that "his tolerance of religion and his abhorrence of religious persecutions put our Tudors to shame."

Akbar's religion, policy, and character.

Akbar in the first part of his reign was a good Muslim, and there was nothing objectionable in his beliefs and practices. After the arrival of Abul Fazl and Faizī at the court, a change in the former beliefs of Akbar began to creep on him slowly. Rāja Bīr Bal introduced sun-worship¹ which gradually led to fire-worship, in pursuance of the doctrines preached by the Zoroastrians at the court. The sacred fire was kept by Akbar and committed to the care of Abul Fazl.² Akbar is said to hold the

¹ Badāʾunī, Vol. II, p. 260, cf. the statement :

[و بیربر خاطر نشان ساخت که چون آفتاب مظهر تام است.....
و روحانی عالم و حیات عالمیان وابسته بار پس لایق عبادت و تعظیم
باعده...الخ]

² Ibid., p. 261 [Cf.

[فرمودند که آتش را باهتمام شیخ ابوالفضل بروی ملوک معجم که
آتشکده ایشان - همیشه برپای بود دائم الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز
محل نگاه می داشته باشند]

belief that fire was a symbol of God, and a light from His many lights. That was why all the court rose up in silence when the lamps were lighted. The great charge against Akbar is his religious tolerance and the introduction of *Din-i-Ilāhī*, which led to a stoppage of exclusive attention being paid to Muslim rights. Such a measure brought ready disciples from all quarters and communities of the empire into personal touch with Akbar. The scope of this new religion, of which he was the head, was so wide and its principles so absorbing that all different creeds and sects were represented at the court,¹ and every one, while advancing fearlessly his own theory, saw it embodied in the new faith. How far it was the real belief or policy of Akbar could be judged from the answer once given by him when a question was put to him on the ambiguity contained in his monogram "*Allāh u Akbar*"² which served as the royal seal, and was also engraved on his coins. According to Badāūnī, Akbar was greatly displeased, and said, 'it was self-evident that no creature in the depths of his impotence could advance any claim to divinity.' His court through the propagation of *Din-i-Ilāhī*

¹ Abul Fazl states that the court of Akbar was overcrowded by the Jews, Sūfis, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Brahmans, Sunnis, Shī'as and Zoroastrians and heated discussions among doctors, preachers, and philosophers of every sect occurred at evenings, and were zealously attended by the emperor.

² This means 'God is Great,' but can also be construed as 'Akbar is God.'

was thronged by people of all shades of opinion which he tolerated and even encouraged. Whatever his real sentiments might be, it is noticeable that he took special care that his countenance should express nothing but satisfaction and zeal for all that was preached or brought to him. Badāūni and other devout Muslims were shocked at these innovations, and held Faizi and Abul Fazl responsible for all such heresies. This policy of Akbar was the secret of his success. His aim was to prepare the ground for a great national ideal, the unification of India, by bringing the two imperial religions of his empire under the yoke of one symbolic truth. He thus laid the foundation of Indian nationalism by a silent but vigorous appeal to the sons of the soil to discard their long-cherished apathy towards the Muslim invaders who had entered Hindūstān as victors in the first century A. H. The idea of untouchability or *malich*-ness of a Muslim had taken root in a different soil under political exigency. It was a sort of social boycott, organised and preached by the leaders of a community against foreign intrusion, which in the course of time took a religious turn, and has never since relaxed. The policy of inter-marriage was in effect a vital part of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* introduced into the system to bridge the gulf that separated the two great communities and to wipe away the prejudices of each. He knew as a practical politician that if he were to rule in India with more stability than was the lot of his father and grandfather he could not but be at peace with the powerful Hindū chiefs

and win the heart of all his subjects. This is what Abul Fazl held in his public policy, and carried it to Akbar, who, being of the same views and temperament, worked it out in its minutest details. The motive underlying *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* and the *Infallibility Decree* was exactly the same in its nature and scope. The latter only supplements the former. Through the first he sought to bring people of all sects and creeds, particularly the Hindūs and the Muslims, well-nigh to his person, nearer even than their own priests. It was evident that this end could only be achieved through his spiritual headship which every disciple in his dutiful submission was naturally to regard above that of his *gurū*. As this institution was surely to receive no countenance and popularity among the Muslims he had recourse to the Infallibility Decree by virtue of which his decisions were binding on his co-religionists in cases where Muslim opinion was divided.¹ The decree was drafted by Abul Fazl's father, Shaikh Mubārak, in consultation with five other great jurists of the State. He was by nature not a politician, and showed no talents as such. The reason why he was put to this task was simply due to his profound learning, by virtue of which he was held in the highest esteem by the students of Muslim jurisprudence as well as by the public. This again was a political move to inspire confidence in the people. The hand of Abul Fazl and Faizī could well

¹ Vide Buckler, "Infallibility Decree," ut supra, pp. 593, 604 and 607.

be seen working from behind the screen. The first and most direct result which the two brothers contemplated to achieve by this measure was to make the Mughal Empire independent of the religious headship of Turkey on the one hand, and to gain the allegiance of the Hindūs on the other, through the institution of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. The scheme worked well, and laid the first key-stone on which the subsequent sovereigns and nation-builders have attempted to raise the super-structure of Hindū-Muslim unity. The marriages of Akbar and his son, Jahāngīr, with the daughters of the powerful Hindū Rājās, served as a great and potential step in that direction. In short, this policy combined with the religious tolerance, and strengthened by the *Mahzar* (the Infallibility Decree) was the biggest move on national lines for the Unity of the Indian Empire.

His character, like that of Abul Fazl, was more of a modern statesman of Europe than a contemporary monarch of Asia. He was a keen observer of men, and a good judge of their worth. He knew, more than any other king of his line did, the virtues and the shortcomings of his officers, and with confidence entrusted them with duties according to their proper worth and capacity. He also reposed trust in his servants, and refused to hear any ill of them, nor took heed of the same until the reports were persistent, and he satisfied himself on all points concerning them. As a result of this policy he had less enemies to fear and more friends to rely on. All these features were the key-note to his success as

an administrator, and were a cause of the downfall of the Mughal Empire when neglected in their entirety by Aurangzeb and his successors in India. All through his life he was as much anxious to extend the boundary of his empire and to bring peace and prosperity to the people as to give patronage to Persian letters. So many scholars and poets had assembled at his court that no other instance of such assemblage is known to history since the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, except that of the present Nizām whose patronage and love of letters has drawn to his court a galaxy of scholars which has made Hyderabad a famous seat of learning in the East, and revived, once again, the glories of the great Mahmūd and Akbar.

With the array of fine delicacies introduced into Persian composition came the niceties in penmanship

Some literary
features of his
reign : (i) *khat*
(calligraphy)

or what is called *khat*. It grew as a sequel to the patronage offered to Persian prose and poetry, which necessitated the works of the best authors to be written down with as much elegance and elaboration as their quality demanded.¹

¹ Cf., the huge volumes of poetical works like Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma*, Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, Khusrāu's masnawī *Duwalrānī*, Khizr Khān, Jāmi's *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*, Faizi's *Naldaman*, and Razm *Nāma* and other similar poems were copied by scribes in elegant hand with profuse illustrations, at Akbar's order :

Also, sundry works on history and fable like *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (a huge work covering 668 folios of large foolscap size), *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* (in 12 volumes), *Tārīkh-i-Krishnji*,



His Exalted Highness The Nizām: Nawāb Sir Mīr 'Usman 'Alī Khān Bahādur, G.C.S.I., G.C.B.E., the greatest living patron of Indo-Persian culture, and the illustrious Founder of the 'Usmāniya University, whose regime has heralded the dawn of a new era in the advancement of learning in India.

This process naturally led to a widespread taste among people for beautiful handwriting which soon came to be regarded as a fine art and an essential part of a scholarly and cultured gentleman. A good many instances can be quoted of poets and prose-writers who were also good calligraphists.¹ The official correspondence with the Persian court and other allied countries of Central Asia, as also with the independent native States of India, was conducted in the Persian '*nasta'liq*,' and the several scribes vied with one another in achieving elegance, neatness of letters, and beauty of curves. In fact the post of *Munshi* (scribe) under the Mughal sovereigns, was considered as a special prerogative of and was reserved for schol-

Zafar Nāma of Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī, and *Dārāb Nāma* (a story-book like *Dāstān-i-Amir Hamza*) were similarly written in a beautiful hand. In the estimated 12 to 15 thousand volumes of precious manuscripts in his library, a good many were caused to be re-written in elegant '*naskh*' and '*nasta'liq*.' Similarly in Faizī's library of 4,600 volumes most of the MSS. were contemporary productions on which he had, according to Badā'uni spent large sums of money of his '*jāgīr*.' The activities of the general public and at the court of the *Khān-i-Khānān* can easily be guessed. Smaller works on romance and love, and selected poems of authors were often caused to be written on fine silky paper the ground of which was perfumed and besprinkled with mica and gold dust.

Cf., Faizī, 'Urī Badā'uni, Abul Fazl, Nishānī and others, who were expert calligraphists. For detailed information refer "*Risāla-i-Khush Nawisān*" by Khalīfa Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad '*haft qalam Akbarshāhī*.'

[B.M. MSS., Or. 1,861]

ars who could also write a beautiful hand. This was the greatest impetus given to the art of calligraphy.

(ii) 'Inshā' letter-writing). This may be said to be one of the chief factors which produced a general taste for calligraphy. It was divided into two main branches :

(a) official correspondence, and

(b) private correspondence.

The holder of the first was technically called a *Munshī* who was qualified as a poet and a prose-writer, and could readily recall to his memory, as occasion demanded, appropriate verses from standard authors. As such the *mansab* of a *Munshī* was a very responsible one, for upon his diction depended largely the impression of the power and greatness of the State he represented. His document was judged at the rival courts on its face value, that is to say, on the dignity of the language employed, the high tone of rhetoric displayed, and the powerful manner in which the object was expressed. Upon these the success of the document virtually depended. There was the rank of chief-Munshī, or secretary of correspondence, who was the head of all other *Munshīs* in different administrative branches. The desire to hold the office of a *Munshī* occasioned keen competition among rival candidates as to who could express himself well, embracing all those qualifications and attributes that were essential for letter-writing. The second, *viz.*, private correspondence also contributed no less than the first towards the growth of penmanship. Every one writing a letter to his friends, a pupil



ای که را باین گشتن که گزاند که دند و نیز یک قصه بود تو اینجا بیک دایره و یکست ایضا
 گفت نیز گشتن ز داشت که دوش ماه و هر از دست که آساسته دیدن که او در دشت
 گفت ای ملک مرا دوش طرد کاری شده بود بطایه رفیق بودم سهای گفت بگوئی گشتن چو بمان
 برسدیم بر طریق مهراب در آن وقت که بان می آمد و او را می شنودم گاهی طایفه که در
 مایه را از کبر که در میان تو و ارباب میرا ده شیر خراست و چهار اهرام و غایت من یک
 و با هم جاسته را دیدم در بر طریق خنده و سببی بر زیر سر او ایستاده آن جوان را که دم و کشت
 بر در آن ای با بر من که تو یکستی آن جوان بر غایت و بر در آن که در غایت آن طایفه خود آمد و
 چون میان جوانان بدیدم و ششم آن جوان در آنجا که گشتن که تو هم بگری که او
 گشتن که تو دند و دند که در آنجا که گشتن که تو هم بگری که او
 بر آنکس که که احوال و چگونه بود و دست و او را بر سر می بود است سهای چون آن
 گفت ای گشتن تو دند و دند که در آنجا که گشتن که تو هم بگری که او
 و با دشتی و را در آنجا که گشتن که تو هم بگری که او
 مرد و افشا و از نیز یک سن آمدن یک گشتن که این دند و دند که گشتن که تو هم بگری که او
 از بر خود و در که دند و دند که گشتن که تو هم بگری که او

148
 الصب
 منیر و اصلح

A page from the *Dārabnāma*
 Artists: Bilhād and Abdussamād

to his teacher, a son to his father, and a poet to his other colleagues, observed all possible neatness in his diction, and endeavoured to produce as beautiful letters as he could so as to attract the notice of the addressee, and to create a good impression upon the reader.

This branch, though strictly speaking does not come under literary advancement, was closely allied with penmanship. A good calligraphist was also a good painter, who could successfully illumine the works he copied.

(iii) 'Naq-qāshī' (drawing).

Khwāja 'Abdussamad, who was an expert calligraphist and known as *shirīn qalam* (sweet pen) was also a skilled painter, and produced many volumes, at the order of Akbar, richly illumined with pictures. Bihzād¹ was another, who in conjunction with Khwāja 'Abdussamad produced *Dārāb Nāma*, a story-book, profusely illustrated with scenes and pictures of men, women, birds, and other animals. Abul Fazl names 17 best painters out of 100, who had assembled at the court. The son of Khwāja 'Abdussamad also was an equally skilled draughtsman like his father. According to Badāūnī the father had written on both sides of a poppy seed, "Qulhuwallāh" the third verse of the Qur'ān from the last, and the son

¹ The Bihzād family is conspicuous in the history of the Mughal Fine Arts in India. The senior Bihzād, who was a contemporary of Bābur, had earned a name which went forth as a guarantee that the work was a faultless production (*Vide* Bābur's comment in his Turki autobiography, *The Bābur Nāma*, on Bihzād's drawings).

had shown his marvellous powers by perforating eight holes in the poppy seed and drawing a thread through each. He is further stated to have drawn the picture of a cavalier with all his retinue and necessary equipment, on a grain of rice.¹ Mulla 'Alī Ahmad Nishānī was another famous artist whose engravings on stone were renowned in Central Asia, and fetched a high price in Khurāsān, 'Irāq, and Central Asian States.² Muhammad Husain Kashmīrī, Daswant, Bisāwan, and Harī Bans, were other distinguished painters and calligraphists. The first is better known by his title of *zarrīn qalam* (gold pen). The second who was a pupil of Khwāja 'Abdussamad is said to have excelled his master in certain aspects of drawing. Akbar, noticing his artistic bent of mind had put him under the special care of the Khwāja for training. In fact a separate school of painting had been founded through Akbar's

¹ Badā'ūnī, Vol. III., p. 310. [Cf., the statement :

شریف نام دارد ولد خواجه عبدالصمد مصور از جوانان نورسیده
در حسن خط و تصویر بے نظیر است و مشهور است که پدرش در یک
طرف دانه خشکاش سوره اخلاص تمام در سه خوانا نوشته و طرف دیگر
نیز ازین مقوله و شریف پسرش در یک دانه خشکاش میگویند که هفت
سوراخ باریک کرده و تارها در آن گذرانده و در دانه برنجی صورت
سواری مسلح و جلو داری در پیش رخ دیگر خصوصیات از تیغ و سپر
و چوگان و غیر آن نقش نموده

² Ibid. pp. 849-50 [Cf.,

مولانا علی احمد..... که امروز نقش نگین او کزنامه روزگار است
و در عراق و خراسان و ماوراء النهر سکه او را به تپس و تبرک می
پرند..... در جمیع خطوط بد طولی دارد و در انشا و املا بے نظیر



Illustration from the *Bahārīstān*
 Artist : Bisāwan



Illustration from the *Khamsa*
 Artist : Muhammad Sharif
 Writer : 'Abdurrahīm



A page from the *Laila Majnūn*
 Artist : Farrukh : A. D. 1593



Nine men rowing in a boat . wall-painting in Akbar's
bed-room at Fatehpur Sikri

patronage, which combined the requisite attributes of Persian and Indian painting.¹ The remnants of such drawings on the walls and galleries of the royal buildings at Fathpūr Sikrī,² and in the forts of Delhi and Āgra,³ survive even to this day. The moving figures of soldiers, horses, and elephants on the pavement of the Pachchīsī hall, where Akbar used to play chess, the romantic scenes depicted on slabs of marble in the Panj Mahal (a five-storeyed building at Fathpūr), the life-like sketch of nine men rowing in a boat, painted on a wall in Akbar's bed-chamber at Fathpūr Sikrī, and similar other representations on the balconies of the audience-halls of Āgra and Delhi, the royal baths, and on the screens of his private chambers, are preserved in the collections of the Lucknow, Delhi, and Calcutta Museums. The imaginary scenes of Heaven and Hell, and symbolic figures of angels representing the fall of Adam and the fate of man, were also depicted on a fresco in Fathpūr-Sikrī. Akbar was thus a patron not only of Persian prose and poetry but also of art and calligraphy.

¹ Fergusson, *History of India and Eastern Architecture*, Burgess, 1910.

² E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpūr-Sikrī, Allāhābād*, 1894.

³ E. W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decorations of Āgra, Allāhābād*, 1901. Also Cf: Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *Historical and Descriptive Āgra*, Calcutta, 1896.

As a result of his generous policy and kindly disposition towards people of all sects and creeds,

His death. coupled with an extraordinarily liberal patronage of every branch of art and science, he had made himself endeared to the general public, and was respected by all. His death came as a shock to the poet, scholar, architect, painter, and scribe, who all felt it as a personal loss. Mir Haidar Kāshī on hearing of it uttered on his hand the following hemistich which, curiously enough, is also the chronogram ingeniously devised :

الف کشید ملایک ز فوت اکبر شاه

He died in A.H. 1014, leaving an organised, prosperous, and extensive empire to his son Salīm, afterwards Jahāngīr, and was mourned by the country far more than any other monarch of his line that ever sat on the throne of Delhi. He was a signally humane and many-sided personality rare among the rulers of Hindūstān.

The year of his death is to be found in the numerical value of the letters in 'فوت اکبر شاه' less the value of 'ulif,' as follows :

$$80+6+400+1+20+2+200+300+1+5=1015. \quad 1015-1=1014.$$

This extempore composition as given by Dāghistānī (B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 40b) is indicative of the wonderful progress made in the art of poetry and chronogram under Akbar.



Raja Bir Bal (Coronation
Darbar Exhibit, 1911)

These two figures are among the *Nine Gems* of the court of Akbar, who are known by the familiar name of *Nauratan* to the Indian public. The

His *Nauratan*:
 (1) Mullā Du
 Piyāza (2) Rāja
 Birbal.

less educated class assigns to them numerous stories of wit and humour, which have been handed down from generation to generation. But the historical truth about these men, so far as it could be ascertained from the contemporary literature, is the following. The former, Du Piyāza, was known as such from his fondness for a dish—*du Piyāza*¹ : (two onions) which was prepared with two seers of onions and ten seers of meat, with spices added to them. He is reputed as a celebrated wit, and nicknamed Du Piyāza by Akbar's courtiers. He was an Arab, and well-versed in Arabic prosody and literature : whence his title *Mullā*. He had a wonderful memory, and remembered by heart hundreds of verses and maxims which he recited on every occasion. He came to India in the train of one of Humāyūn's generals, and stayed at Āgra where he learned colloquial Hindī, in addition to his knowledge of Persian which he already possessed. He was a personal friend and a favourite of Akbar, and retained his position as such for ever. Tradition has it that he loved to ride on a lean horse which would almost be reeling underneath the burden of his master and thereby provided the citizens with enormous fun. One loves to picture him dressed in quaint

¹ 'Ā'in-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 60.

accoutrements, riding on a lean Arab. He loved mirth, and notwithstanding his witty disposition he had something deep and profound underlying that gay exterior. His wit was the fruit of a lifetime's quest after wisdom. Probably after a thorough study of philosophic problems of life and death and destiny, he thought that nothing was better than joy and love and peace. He was simple as a child and generous in the extreme. He cared little for gold and silver. All that he got from the court of Akbar he distributed among the poor and destitute before he reached home. Children were fond of him, widows prayed for him, and the orphans looked to him with filial love. He was the help of the helpless and the friend of the needy. He was thus irresistibly an attractive and lovable character with but few wants and desires of his own.

Birbar or Birbal, whose real name was Birhamdās, was a high caste Brahman of the Kālpi district. He came to Āgra in search of employment in the early days of Akbar's coronation, and was admitted into the court among the king's personal staff. He was a shrewd young man with gifts of comradeship and quick wit. Within a short time of his service he became well-known at the court for his repartees and humour, and attracted the attention of the king in person who was so pleased with his contests of wit that he conferred upon him the title of "*Kab Rāi*" (king of poets)¹ to match with that of the Persian

¹ Badaūnī, Vol. II, p. 161.

poet, Ghizālī Mashhadī's *Malik-ush-Shu'ārā*. In the year 980 A.H., when the fort of Nagar Kōt was conquered by the king's forces led by Husain Quli Khān, Akbar was pleased to confer upon Birhamdās the title of Rāja, calling him Birbar (which Badāūnī interprets into *Bahādur*, meaning *brave*), and appointed that district as his *jāgīr*, to maintain his rank. He became in the course of time Akbar's confidant, and exercised greater influence upon him than the Mullā. His *mansab* was نديم خاص (king's own courtier).

Other luminaries of the *Nauratan* were : (1) Faizī, (2) Abul Fazl, (3) Mirzā Tān Sēn, (4) 'Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān, (5) Rāja Todar Mal, (6) Hakīm Humām, and (7) Rāja Mān Singh, all of whom, except the last three, have figured in these pages. The Hakīm was the chief physician of the king's *harem*. He was a man of great ability, culture, and wit, and was reputed to charm the whole assembly by his presence and animated talk. Being in full confidence of the king, he was also in charge of the royal kitchen, and was addressed by Akbar as *Mīr Bakāwal*. His post was a very responsible onespecially in those days when plots were hatched and attempts on the lives of kings were not infrequent.

Rāja Todar Mal was in the Finance Department of the State, and served under Muzaffar Khān and Shihāb Khān, the two revenue experts, for some years before his talents and worth became fully known to Akbar.

(3) Hakīm
Humām

(4) Rāja Todar
Mal.

He thoroughly overhauled the *malguzārī* system of the Province of Gujarāt, and made a settlement of the land revenue, by virtue of which the province yielded six times more than what it did before. He was subsequently appointed Governor of the Province in the year 985 A. H. He was also in charge of the royal Mint at Gaur (Bengal) for one year in 983 A.H. The general principles of his reforms have been described by Abūl Fazl in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. In Northern India too he successfully revised the assessment of the land revenue in several districts like Āgra, Fathpūr, and Shāhābād. He was an able general besides, and tactfully quelled several rebellions in the State, and showed great statesmanship in Bengal.

Mān Singh was the adopted son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, heir-apparent to Rāja Bihāra Mal of Ambēr (Rājputānā). He entered the

(5) Rāja Mān Singh. service of Akbar soon after his accession to the throne, and became a relation of the Emperor through ties of

royal marriages with his house. In the year 970 A.H., when Akbar was on his way to Ajmēr to visit the shrine of the holy saint Khwāja Mu'inuddīn Chishtī, Rāja Bihāra Mal came to greet the Emperor at Deosa and offered him his eldest daughter in marriage. This was a great event in the history of the social life of India, and laid the first brick of the structure of inter-alliance of the two most important communities of the Indian Empire.¹ On Akbar's return from

¹ Also cf., Akbar's second marriage with the daughter of Rāja



Akbar at the shrine of Khwaja Mu'muddīn
Chisti at Ajmer

Ajmēr, the marriage was solemnised with great rejoicing on both sides, and contributed to the solidarity of the Indian nation. This lady subsequently became the mother of Jahāngir. Two decades after this historic occurrence, Mān Singh's sister was given in marriage to Prince Salim, afterwards Jahāngir. Due to these circumstances Mān Singh excelled all others in prestige and rank, and his personal influence on Akbar was enormous. He was governor of Bihār, and also held the office of *Vakil* (king's Deputy) for some time. He was a staunch follower of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, and liked to remain at the Court near the person of the king

The other luminaries were Faizī, (6) Faizī, Abul Fazl, 'Abdurrahīm *Khān-i-Khānān*, and Mirza Tān Sēn, who have been already described in the previous chapters.

of Bikānēr which, not only brought to his side another powerful Rājput ally, but promoted considerably the good feelings between the Hindūs and the Muslims. It throws a flood of light on the wisdom of Abul Fazl and other responsible ministers for having contrived so infallible a mode of uniting the two communities in friendship, and of bringing their respective sovereigns so near to each other.

CHAPTER V

The earliest traces of Urdū language, together with sundry specimens of its subsequent growth in the country, have been given in the preceding parts of this book. They amply show how Urdū developed and expanded itself in the congenial atmosphere and surroundings of India. There

Evolution of
Urdū : dispute
about its paren-
tage : opinions
of European
orientalists.

has been some difference of opinion as to the real parentage and the circumstances which led to the birth of this new language. Some hold that Hindī was the main fount and source of Urdū, while others think that the chief factor which occasioned its birth was Persian. These two schools of thought sponsor their own theories in support of their contentions. The truth, however, lies midway between the two, and is now gathering force and strength every day and attracting the attention of the philologists of the East and the West. Many French, German, and English writers have expressed the opinion that the feeders of Urdū were conjointly Hindī and Persian, and *not* Hindī alone as was the view of some indigenous writers and Western scholars like Sir George Grierson, who based their conclusions on the ground of Urdū grammar and the general aspect of the language being similar to that of Hindī. The Persian influx into

the country, which occasioned the Persian culture to come in forceful contact with Hindī Prakrits, is originally responsible for the conception and form of modern Urdū. The famous French writer, Monsieur Garcin Du Tassy, held long ago the same view as is now expressed by some European Orientalists in the light of modern investigations and scientific analysis. He is greatly supported by a Russian writer, Professor Bronnokoff, who has contributed a series of valuable articles on the conception, birth, and growth of modern Urdū, which, he observes, is a mixture as much of Hindī as of Persian. It is true that Urdū in the beginning of its evolution embraced 60 to 70 per cent Hindī words and closely followed Hindī grammar, but it is equally true that it borrowed mostly from Persian the syntax, the metres of poetry, and the texture of thought itself, besides the remaining percentage of words which were either Persian or brought through the medium of Persian. Thus one can say that Urdū primarily is an offspring of Hindī Prakrits which, under a long and sustained influence of the spoken Persian and its vocabulary, gradually softened itself until it came to acquire the present form and texture. It is apparent from the early poetry that Urdū in its primitive stages was following Hindī more closely than Persian. But as time went on and the mutual relations between Persian and Hindī grew more friendly and intimate through intellectual, social, and commercial intercourse, this new-born child continued to imbibe more and more the spirit and character of the former.

Some instances of Akbar's Hindī speeches and his own Hindī compositions have been cited already

in the previous chapters. They are the best specimens of Urdū, and show clearly the king's own predilection for this dialect. During his regime a good many poets and scholars sprang up in the country who contributed a great deal towards the growth of modern Urdū. The service rendered to Urdū by Tulsī Dās and Sūr Dās is most valuable, and attracted the attention of the Hindū public towards this language more than ever. A good many songs and *doharās* were composed by them in soft colloquial Hindī incorporating many Arabic and Persian words which were skilfully blended with those of Hindī origin. Some verses which are clear specimens of Urdū are quoted below :

Tulsī Dās

تلسی بروا باگ ماں کہ سینچے سے کمھلاے
بہجن بھروسا رام کا کہ پریت پر ہریاے

تلسی اہ گریب کی ہر سے سہی نہ جاے
موے چام کی دھونک سے کٹھن لوہ بہسم ہو جاے

تلسی گرب نہ کیجے تنک نہ ہنسٹے کوی
ابھی ناؤ منجدھار ماں کا جانے کا ہوی

تلسی ہر گھر جائے کے دکھ نہ کہئے کوئی
اپنا بہم گنوائے کے بات نہ پوچھے کوئی

مایا کو مایا ملے کر کر لیے ہات
تلسی داس گریب کی کوئی نہ پوچھے بات

تلسی یا سنسار میں پانچ رتن ہیں سار
سادھو ملن اور ہری بہجن دیا دین ابکار

*Sūr Dās*¹

سبھی دن سور داس ایک ہی سے نہیں جات
سرن دھیان کیو کرہری کو جب لگ تن کسلات

یاد یہی کو گرو باورو تدپ پھرت اثرات
باد بیوا د سبھی دت بیتے کھیل تھی اور کھات

بال پن کھیل تھی کھویو اور ترنا پن السات
سور داس اوسر کے بیتے رھویو پن پچتات

میرا من انت کہاں سکھ پاوے
جیسے آرزو جہاں کو پنشی پھر جہاں پر آوے

¹ I am indebted to my worthy friend and colleague, Dr. Seth, Ph.D. (London), Professor of Economics, for these lines of *Sūr Dās*.

جگ میں جیوت ہی کو ناتو
من بچھڑے تن چھاڑ ہوئی گا کو

میں میری کبھی ناہیں کیجے
کیجے پنج سہا تو
سانچ جھوٹ کر مایا جوڑی
آپن روکھو کھا تو
سور داس کچھ تھر نہیں رہی
جو آيو سو جا تو

مون سون کون کتھن کہل کامی
جن تن دیئے تاهي بسرایو
ایسو نان حرامی
ہری جن چھوڑ ہری وی مکھن کی
نس دن کرت گلامی
ہا پی کون بڑا مو سے
سب پتی تن میں نامی
سور تپت کو تھور کہاں ہے
سنئے شری پت سوامی

The above extracts, while showing intimate association of Arabic and Persian with Hindi, are also illustrative of the polish that Urdū was receiving at their hands. The verses of Tulsī Dās are particularly noteworthy as being a very good instance of the structure of Urdū under Akbar. Some lines of Sūr Dās

cited by Muhammad Husain Āzād contain even greater proportion of Persian words than already noticed. Cf :

مایا دھام دھن دنتا
 (ساز) باندهیو ہوں اس ساج
 سنت سبھی جانت ہوں
 (باز) تو نہ آیو باج
 کھیت بہت کاہی تم تانے
 (آواز) سبن سنی آواج
 (ذات) دیونہ جات پار اتر آئے
 (جہاز) چاہت چرھیں جہاج
 لیجئے پار اتر سور کوں
 مہاراج برج راج
 نیٹن کرت پرہوں تم سوں
 (غریب نواز) سدا گریب نواج

When such devout personalities could not avoid incorporating Muslim vocabulary in their religious songs, it may well be guessed to what extent the common people would have done it in their private talks and communications.

Another great contributor to Urdū is the Khān-i-Khānān whose Hindī poetry, under the pen-name *Rahiman*, made a vigorous appeal to the people of Hindūstān. His poems are generally of a very simple nature, and in spite of the fact that he was a

Contribution
 of 'Abdurrahīm
 Khān-i-Khānān.

scholar of Sanskrit and an accomplished poet of Persian, he put his thoughts in easy flowing language, a language which was free from the terse Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic vocabulary. This was a great impetus to Urdū, which not only made it popular, but endeared it to every one. A few specimens are quoted below :

۱ رحیم چپ ہو بیٹھئے دیکھہ دنن کے پھیر
جب نیکے دن آئینگے بنت نہ لگئے دیر

امی پیارے مان بن رحیم ہمیں نہ سہاے
مان سہت مربو بھلو برو بکھہ دے ہی بلائے

رحیم وے نر مرچکے جو کہوں مانگن جائیں
اُن تے پہلے وے موے جن مکھہ نکھست ناہیں

رحیم کھو جو او کھہ میں جہاں رسن کی گہاں
جہاں گانتھہ تہاں رس نہیں یہی پریت کی ہاں

رحیم دھاگا پریم کا مت توڑو چٹکائے
توڑے سے پن نا ملے - ملے گانتھہ پڑ جائے

¹ Note.—These verses of 'Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān have been copied from a valuable manuscript in possession of my worthy friend Bābū Bānkē Lāl Sāheb, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Jaunpūr.

رحیم پریت سرائیے ملے ہوت رنگ دون
جیوں ہر دی زردی تکی-تکی سفیدی چون

رحیم ات مشکل بہیو گاڑھے دوڑ کام
سانچ کہے توجگ نہیں جھوٹے ملے نہ رام

رحیم سیدھی چال سو پیادہ ہوت وزیر
فرزین شاہ نہ ہو سکے تیرھے کی تاثیر

رحیم پریت نہ کیجئے جس کھیرانے کین
اوپر سے تو دل ملا بہتر پھانکیں تین

روٹھے سَکَن منائیے جو روٹھیں سو بار
رحیم پھر پھر پوئیے جو توڑے مکنا ہار

بس کشنک چاہت کشل یہ رحیم افسوس
مہیما گھٹی سمندر کی راون بسا پڑوس

رحیم دیکھہ بڑون کو لگھو نہ دیکھے دار
جہان کام آوے سوئی کیا کرے تروار

دھول ازات شیش برکھو رحیم کہ کاج
جے ہی رج رکھہ پتني تري سوهي دھوندت گجراج

رحيمن يوں جس هوت هي آپکاري نے انگ
بانئن والے کو لگے جيون مهندي کو رنگ

Besides the poets cited above, there were many others in the various parts of India who composed verses in the local Prakrits which were already affected by Persian tone and vocabulary. In fact the Hindi dialects of upper Hindūstān, during the period of Akbar, had yielded more to the influence of Persian than any other Prakrit of the country did outside the Mughal court. We find, wherever the Muslims went they introduced their element and a number of Persian and Arabic expressions in the native dialects, which, in the course of time lost their original rigour and rigidity, and softened into Urdū. The provinces that were affected most, after Delhi and Āgra, by the influx of Muslim culture and civilization were Gujarat, Sindh, and the Deccan. The last-named produced two great poets of polished Prakrits (or Hindi): Burhānuddin Jānam, and Sultān Muhammad Quli Qutub Shāh : whose works survive to this day and bear eloquent testimony to their contribution to Urdū. Of the former a good collection of poetical works is in possession of Maulānā ‘Abdul Haq, Secretary, *Anjuman Taraqqī-i-Urdū*, Aurangābād,

Shāh Burhān-
uddin Jānam ;
Mūlla Nūrī; and
Sultān Mūham-
mad Quli Qutub
Shāh.

Deccan, who also contributed an illuminating article on the life and writings of the poet, in the *Urdū Quarterly*, dated July, 1927. A few instances of the poet's contribution to Urdū language are quoted below :

سکتا قادر قدرت سوں سمجھئے تجھکوں کوئی کیا
جسکو اوڑے دیوے راہ کہیا یھدی من یشا
کیا محمد جگ میں پیارا جستھیں سمجھی راہ
شیطان مدعی پکڑیا بات کیوں کر سکیں جاہ
ظاہر باطن کا وہ دانہ سکتا ہی سبحان
سب پر شاہد مطلق بینا تجھپر لیہہ برہان

گن آدم کا نہ ہات چڑھے رہے کیوں کہنا انسان
صورت پر اعتبار نہ راکھیں جیسے ہی حیوان
بلکہ ان تھی گمراہ کریوں قرآن میں فرمان
لوکان یہ مت کیج الادھی جن بوجھہ بختوں لادھی
پنتھہ اکاس کا وینکم جانے جل کا مارگ میں
سادھو کا انت سادھو جانے دوچے کوئی نہیں چین

سگلا عالم کیا ظہور * اپنے باطن کیرے ظہور
غفلت کیتا پردا آ * سب جگ لیتا اسمین آ
بہوتوں خلق کیا بچار * بھولا سب جگ غفلت مار

کوئی کہیں سب عشق تمام
 عشق کی انگہیں کیا ہے فرہام
 بعض آنکھیں اپنی بوجھ
 معلوم نہیں کچھ اسکی سوجھ
 کانتا چھانتا پھل اور پھول
 شاخ برگ سب دیکھہ اصول
 بندے سگلے ناتواں
 اللہ را کہے آپ پنہاں
 یوں فرمائے شاہ برہاں
 اسمیں آہے نفع ایماں

اللہ پاک منزہ ذات
 اس سوں صفتاں قائم سات
 علم ارادت - قدرت - بار
 سنتا - دیکھتا - بولنہار
 نانوں ہے رموز الواصلیں
 سالک پر دیکھہ آے یقین
 تمت اس تھی کیا تمام
 حق تھی بولیا حق کلام
 رموز الواصلیں کہی بیان
 بندگی حضرت شاہ برہان

يك مرشد مستحق * در مستي مستغرق
 وه صاحب توحيد * اور تجريد كا تفريد
 اور خلوت كرے مدام * نه كس سوں اسكا كام
 وه دوست حبيب الله * كي مرشيد هادي الله
 يو جانم لكهيا بول * ليہہ يك يك معنا كهول

عيب نرا كهیں هندي بول
 معني تو چك ديكهه دهنڌول
 جونگے موتي سمندر سات
 ذابر میں ۛ لا گیں هات

The latter, Sultān Muhammad Qulī Qutub Shāh of Golkunda, whose *Kulliyāt* in modified Dakhani Prakrit is preserved in the Āsifiyya Library, Hyderābād, Deccan, also played an important part in the development of Urdū.¹ Some verses, by way of sample, are reproduced as follows:

² رقيب كاهے كرتا هے هم سوں كج بحثاں
 قبول ظلم و جفا هے جو آئے جانا تهے

¹ Vide Maulānī 'Abdul Haq's Article on the life and works of this poet in the *Urdū Quarterly* dated January, 1922.

² These lines were specially copied for me from the Hyderābād codex by my esteemed friend Mr. Muhammad Na'im, B.A., LL.B. (Alig.)

قطب شہ نہ دے جس دوانے کو پند
دوانے کو کچھ پند دیا جائے نا

مستی کے ملک میں ہے جہانبانی منجھے
خوبان کے دیکھن میں ہے مسلمانی منجھے

جو خمخانہ آہے پلا منجھے مے
پیا جیکوٹی نا برا کور ہی

Similarly a good service was rendered by one Mullā Nūrī of A'zampūr, who was a companion and friend of Faizī. Of his works only one Hindī-Persian verse survives as follows :

’ہر کس کہ خیانت کند البتہ بترسد
پیچارۂ نوری نہ کرے ہی نہ ترے ہی

These instances serve to show how rapid progress Urdū was making during the regime of Akbar. The

Continued association of Hindī element with Persian was becoming more common in process of intermixture of Persian with upper Hindūstān. Also the poets in Hindī and other Prakrits of the Deccan and Gujarāt were admitting freely Persian and Arabic to Urdū. vocabulary in their metrical compositions.

¹ This is quoted by Muhammad Qā'im Chīndpūrī, in his Biographical notices of Urdū poets and is reproduced by Mīr Hasan Dehlevī in his *Tazkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Urdū*, p. 198.

Some very good instances of Urdū prose in the form of spoken and written sentences have been discovered in the works written in the time of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzēb. Apart from a Hindi speech of the former, which is preserved in an unpublished document to be produced hereafter, there are sundry examples of mixed Hindi-Persian expressions which occur in private letters. Still more important is the frequent use of Hindi verb and phrases in Persian sentences noticed in the official letters written in the latter part of Shāh Jahān's reign, and will be dealt with when Parts IV and V will come to be written. It was through this continued process of intermixture that an entirely new dialect, which may be termed as soft Hindi, sprang up, and finally became crystallized into what is called *Urdū*, the present *lingua franca* of India.

CHAPTER VI

INDIA COMPARED WITH PERSIA.

Some people are inclined to think that the flowery style at the Mughal court was initiated by the Indian writers. It is further alleged that this was a speciality of the Indian Courts. This idea now seems, perhaps more than it was a few years before, to be making impression upon European minds, for the persons responsible for expressing such views have a far-reaching and authoritative voice. Nevertheless, after reading sundry Persian and Indian authors, and subjecting their styles to a careful comparison, the alleged view seems to have no historical foundation. While admitting that there were certain initial and natural differences between the two, it could not be supposed that the Persian style did, in principle, widely differ from that of the Indian. On the other hand, it became apparent that the Indian style was essentially Persian, and was founded on the same model as obtained in or was brought from Persia. The only thing that could be said against the writers of the Indian camp, which was dominated by Persian influx, is that some of the writers of the Munshi class, during the 18th century, went a little too far in their attempts to excel their opponents in the show

of words and the use of subtleties ; but to ignore the main fact that it was not the popular style, would be unfair and historically untrue. It may also be noted that the '*offenders*' (the title given to such writers) were chiefly those who hailed from the principal seats of learning in Central Asia,¹ and Persia itself. Hence to condemn the one is to condemn the other, which is as much fallacious as it is to judge the taste of that age from the terse standard of the present day, when both the psychology of the people and the general surroundings have undergone a radical change.

It was always the proud privilege of Persia, as has been repeatedly pointed out in these pages, to inspire the Indian scholar, and Persia as a source of inspiration to India. to maintain the requisite standard of taste at the Indian courts. Had not the Persian literate class continued to emigrate to India in ever-increasing numbers, due to whatever causes, the Indian scholar would have long been out of his Persian element. It was thus to an appreciable degree due to his keeping touch with the fresh bands of Persian emigrants, at every stage of intellectual advancement in Indian history, that he could keep pace with the Persian elite both in the standard of taste and the display of knowledge.

¹ A good many scholars at the court of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzeb, came from Herāt, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and Māwarā-un-Nahr.

Among the historians, for instance, the style of Abul Fazl is nothing very different from the

Points of contrast between the Persian and the Indian style.

accredited style of Persian prose, except in certain minor points. In the Akbar Nāma, his style is diplomatic or showy¹; while that in his other works like the *Ruqqa'āt*, the *'Ayār-i-Dānish*, the *Tūtī Nāma*, and the *Autobiography*, he has a literary style essentially that of a scholar or a classical writer.² The next approaching instance of classical writing (perhaps with a greater show of erudition) is that of 'Abdul Bāqī Nihawāndī author of the *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*. Under the same category falls also that of Badāūnī, Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, and Farishta, which seemed to be more acceptable from the criterion of the Persian standard of the time.

The example of the average and simpler style is that of Bā Yazīd, Jauhar, and Gulbadan Bēgam.³

In the later Mughal period, we have the works of Jahāngīr, 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī, Ni'mat Khān-i-'Alī, and Aurangzēb.

In the contemporary Persia, some parallels of the first category may be found in the works of Hasan Bēg Rūmlū, author of the

¹ For detailed discussion on the style of *Akbar Nāma*, vide supra, pp. 293 and 243; and the following: (Chapter on Abul Fazl).

² For illustrations refer p. 241 supra.

³ It is because they were of modest education, and had nothing to compare in point of erudition with Abul Fazl, Badāūnī, 'Abdul Bāqī Nihawāndī, Farishta, and others, who could recall Persian poets, and had command of Arabic as well.

Ahsan-ut-Tawārik; and Iskandar Munshī, the famous historian of the court of Shāh ‘Abbās. Their styles are scholarly, and may be compared with those of Abul Fazl, ‘Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, and others.

In later Persia, to match with the later Mughal period, we have, for instance, the *Nāsikhut Tawārikh* of “Lisān-ul-Mulk” Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī of Khāshān also the famous biographical works: the *Āiashkada* and the *Majma-ul-Fusahā*, of Lutf ‘Alī Bēg Āzar, and Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet, who had their own views in judging individual styles, specially those of the Indian authors. Some specimens of respective styles, to illustrate the points of similarity or difference (?), are quoted below :

Akbar's reign compared with contemporary Persia.

PERSIAN
(Hasan Bēg Rūmlū)

در بهار که سلطان گل با حشمت و^۱
تجمل روی بتاخت الویس رهاچین آورد
و بزخم پیکان خار جنود شتوی را از
گلزار منهدم گردانید :-
پو آمد ز کوس ستای خورش
در آمد سپاه رهاچین بجوش
زخ خویش را ابر درهم کشید
بدعوی کمانهای رستم کشید
برآورد شایخ شگوفه علم
رهاچین بیار است خیل و حشم
ز ژاله به فوق افزاسپ
بدامن کسان سنگ هر سو سحاب
خان معصود استا جلو به بیلاق مار

دین نزول فرمود -

INDIAN
(Farishta)

آن قلعه ایست واقع بر قله کوه
که از غایب ارتفاع بام ایوانش
فلک کیوان رسیده و عقاب بلند پرواز
از رسیدن بغراز آن طمع بریده :-
کے ندیده فرازش مگر پیش ضمیر
کسی نرفته ندیش مگر بیای گمان
ملوک راز رسیدن بآن گسته امید
عقاب گاه عروچش نمکده بال توان

INDIAN
(Abul Fazl)

مهندسانِ رصد بند و مجسطی کشایان^۳
فلک پیوند... اختراع زائچہ جہاننامی
از صحائف زنج آسمانی نموده
لاجرم بتائید الطاف ذوالجلال و
انتاف جنودِ دروس و اقبال - مصرع
بسامتی که پرو آسمان سجود کند
در عیدگاه خط دلکشی که نور-مصرع
که باد قبیلہ اقبال دهر در هر دور
جشنی عالی و مجاست والا که قیامت
افزای انجمن انگ تواند بود توثیب
دادند -

¹ Prof. Browne (quoting from Ahsan ut Tawārikh).—Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. 414.

Also Cf., his remark :

“ All this could much better be said in one line ” :

دو بهار خان مصدق است
بلاق ساردين نزل نرسود

² Farishta, Vol. II, p. 181.

This also, similarly, could be expressed in a few words as follows :

آن قلم بر قلم کو چه بلند واقع شده

³ Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 303. *Nāte*.—This also, like the other two, could very well be condensed into four simple words:

دو کلامو مجھے آراستند
دو کلامو چشے تریب دادند

But with all this economical rendering, which is bereft of all ornament and grace (or ‘verbosity’ and ‘bombast,’ according to Western interpretation), it must be noted that such plain-speaking would rather have offended the people than pleased them, and it is still, perhaps not permissible in literature in Persia itself; nor will it be welcomed in India.

All these three styles bear so strong a resemblance to one another in essential features that it is hard to say which is which. All take delight in quoting verses, either their own or of other poets, in their prose narration so as to make it graceful. Of all the historians of the Indian camp in Akbar's time, the style of Farishta is peculiarly noteworthy. There is hardly an event described by him, which is not in the characteristic fashion, interspersed with appropriate verses. It appears that this was the style of all cultured Persians, and the same language was also used in official communications at the Safawi court. A few lines, by way of specimen, from the letter of Shāh Tahmāsp to Akbar, are quoted below :

نَقْلِ مَكْتُوبِ شَاهِ وَالَا جَاهِ¹

سَلَامٌ كَالطَّافِ إِلَهِ الْمَجْدِ

سَلَامٌ كَاخْلَافِ النَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. II, pp. 170-1.

Note. -All this rhetoric could, likewise, be easily reduced to one simple sentence. The long array of parallel words used with rhythmic force, and synonymous phrases, and poetical expressions, could either be simplified or done away with, without, so to say, seriously affecting the purport of the letter. But such a course was not considered proper in Persia itself.

سلامے منور بنورِ صفا
 سلامے معطر بهطرِ وفا
 سلامے چو باران که بر گل چکد
 ز گل بر ورقهای سنبل چکد
 کدورت زدا چون گلِ بوستان
 مسرت فزا چون رخِ دوستان
 شمیمش چو باغِ جنان معتدل
 هم آسائشِ جان هم آرام دل

تکفِ سلامے که از کمالِ وفا و وفاعهدِ محبت
 و مؤدتِ موروثی را تازه سازد و هدیهٔ ثنا و دعا که
 از غایتِ صدق و صفای ابطاءِ خصوصیتِ جانبین و
 علاقهٔ و داد و ولاء مابین را میانِ عالم و عالمیان
 بلند آوازه گرداند از دیارِ محبت و یگانگی
 مصکوبِ قوافلِ شوق و آرزو مندی با علی جناب
 سلطنت و جلالت پناه خلافت و معدلت دستگاه
 نورِ حدیقهٔ سلطنت و کامرانی چراغِ افروزِ دود مان
 عالیشانِ تیمور خانی در درجِ دولت و اقبال درِ
 برجِ عظمت و اجلال نو باوۀ ریاض و عظمت و تمکین
 دوحهٔ حدایقِ آمالِ سلاطینِ عدالت آیینِ زبندۀ

اورنگِ سلطنت و پادشاهی مظهرِ اسرارِ نامتناهی
 الہی خاقانِ کام بخش کامگار پادشاہِ ذی شوکت
 عالی تبار..... رباعی

اخترِ برجِ سعادت نیرِ اوجِ شرف
 بر سرِ پادشاهی کام بخش و کامیاب
 با وجودِ طولِ عہد از خسروان کس را نشد
 انچہ او را شد میسر اولِ عہدِ شباب

المؤید بالتائيدات العلیہ من عند اللہ جلال
 السلطنة والشوكة والعزة و النصفة... من بعد در ارسال
 رسل و رسائل و اظهارِ خصوصیات و حالات و حکایات
 چنانچہ مقتضای علاقتِ محبت است مساهلہ نور
 زند..... الخ

This letter unequivocally clears the air, and serves as a good evidence of the recognised value of rhetorical expressions in that age.

Causes of the ultimate loss of efficiency in the art of Persian composition in India.

It also shows the tasteful blending of Arabic speech with Persian, and the extent to which the latter should be ornate. As time went on, the liberality of the later Mughal rulers towards Persian poets declined, and in consequence of this, Persian emigration to India also diminished. This

was one of the many factors responsible for the ultimate loss of efficiency in the art of Persian composition in India. The growing scantiness of literary Persians, due to the dwindling patronage on the part of the Indian nobility, afforded every day less chance for the Indian writers to associate with Persians, and to keep themselves, as hitherto, acquainted with their style up to date.

The period that begins roughly from the middle of the reign of Aurangzēb until the first signs of deadlock in the relations between Persia and India,¹ may be called the 'stagnation period.' The style of writing, as a whole, had not till then deviated far from the right path, though attempts were already begun to be made by certain writers to enter into frivolities of word and meaning.²

¹ Another cause of this estrangement of relations was the official recognition of Urdū as the court language under the British.

² Cf., the writings of Ni'mat Khān i 'Ālī, Bē-dil, Irādat Khān Wāzih, and others, who went to the length of making their text an entire show of word and phrase. The former in his historical work entitled "Waqā'i 'Ni'mat Khān i 'Ālī" has adopted a style which is hardly appealing to a European scholar, and more so to a serious student of history, although as an example of a particular taste it is not bad, being pleasantly humorous. Irādat Khān's "*Mīnā Bāzār*" is a typical example of rhetorical composition that was followed subsequently by an average writer and is rightly considered to be a useless production. Bē-dil in his "*Ruqqa'āt*" has endeavoured to make his meaning obscure rather than clear, owing to the overdone rhetoric and floridity, and thus has defeated the very object of his work.

The style of later Persia also, like India, had become too ornate, and was adopted by responsible writers in their historical works as well as in the official communications at the court itself. The following specimen from the collection of letters of Shāh 'Abbās II (written by his celebrated secretary, Mīrzā Tāhīr Wahīd) to various Persian officials and contemporary rulers in India, Turkey, and Central Asia, will illustrate better the tendency of the Persian taste :

Letter to Aurangzeb

جواهرِ زواهرِ نیابش بیش از قیاس و آلی متلالی¹
 ستایش لا تناهی اساس که کفه زبان و میزان بیان
 از کشیدن آن قاص و بازوی توان از تعقل آن فاطر
 باشد نثارِ سزای کبریای مالک الملکی که مقرنس چرخ
 کبود از شهرستان عظمت و جلال او کاخی و شجره بدیع
 الازهار وجود از گلشن وسیع الفضاے قدرت او شاخه
 ست..... نظم

ساخته از لطف پئی خاکیان
 چار حدِ باغچه کن فکان
 دیده ام این باغ پر از رنگ و بو
 یک گل رعناست شب و روز او

¹ *Inshā-i-Tāhīr Wahīd*, p. 17, Lucknow, 1873.

For further letters to the governors and Persian nobles, and rulers of Deccan, Turkey, and the Central Asian States, *Vide* pp. 7 ; 10 ; 12 ; 45 ; 48 ; and 89, *ibid*.

..... بعد از حمد جناب کبریا و بسطِ بساطِ نعتِ
 سیدِ انبیا و منقبتِ زبدۀ اصفیا بر مرآتِ ضمیرِ قدسی
 تکمیلِ اعلیٰ حضرت رفیع المنزلت گردونِ بسطت
 ریاضِ همیشه بهارِ سلطنتِ گورکانی حدیقه طرازِ
 گلستانِ خلد نشانِ جهان بانی سلطان اورنگ زیب
 منطبع می گرداند که درینوقت ارجمند و زمانِ سعادت
 پیوند که به نیروی خالقِ انس و جان و جاعلِ مکین
 و مکانِ اسبابِ کامیابی و خوشدلی من جمیع الوجوه
 آماده و ابوابِ فیوضات از شش جهت بر چهرهٔ اقبال
 کشاده است بمیانجیِ مخبرانِ صدق آئین مژدهٔ جلوسِ
 آن گوهر فروزانِ بحرِ بسالت و شجاعت... الخ

This is only an extract from the original letter which is too long and keeps up the same tone throughout. In the whole collection there is not a single communication which, like the above, is not excessively ornate. The striking point is that their rhetoric, in the shape of figurative language and the lengthiness of sentences, defies Abul Fazl, and goes one step further than him in tautology and affectation. The author in his grand phraseology and rhymed diction follows in the footsteps of Zuhūrī, and closely copies the style of his three prose works

entitled the '*Seh Nasr*.'¹ Among subsequent Persian writers, even people like Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, and Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet, in their biographical works, the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma-'ul-Fusahā*, have at times entered into a flood of rhetoric, which is more irksome than Abul Fazl's. The following is a quotation from Rizā Qulī Khān's work :

شمالی دہستانی خراسانی^۲

حکیمے بودہ سکنگوی و ندیمے نیکخوی شمال
طبعش را روح افزای نفس عیسی و خامه دستش را
اثر عصای موسی با ادیب صابر معاصر..... الخ

This is, so to speak, a sham revival of Zuhūrī who is not, however, approached in point of elegance and harmony of thought. The author of the *Ātashkada* has, likewise, adopted a highly ornate style in a long introduction to his work. The follow-

¹ It is to be noted that this was written in India, and was not a serious work at all like the Persian official letters. It was undertaken by the author solely with the object of extolling Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, as well as to make a display of his knowledge. By its composition, he instituted an entirely new school in the art of ornate prose-writing, and had subsequently so many followers and disciples both in Persia and India, like Mullā Tughrā Mashhadī, Mīrzā Tāhīr Wahīd Qazwīnī, Ni'mat Khān i 'Alī, and others.

² *Majma-'ul-Fusahā*, p. 309.

ing extract, where he is supposed to be simple, as declaring to give an essence of what he had written before, in brief words, will show the trend of his diction :

١ خلاصهٔ مقال سوختهٔ آتشِ عشق اطفِ علی
 چنین گوید که از آغازِ عهدِ صبی که باغبانِ عشق
 منحلِ وجودم را در باغِ وفا پرورده و از تر هستیِ بارانِ
 محبتم به نشو و نما آورده تارفته، رفته از دامنِ مادرِ باغوشِ

¹ *Ātashkada*, p. 5.

It might be noted that he even divided his work, which he named the *Ātashkada*, (Fire-temple) into censer, flame, spark, and glow, in place of the common divisions like books, chapter, sections, etc., Cf :

مجمعهٔ اول در ذکر اطوار و اشعار فصاحتی متقدمین مشتمل بر یک
 شعله و سه اخگر و یک فروغ -

[*Ibid.*, p. 7.]

In the body of the text, there appeared little room for his rhetoric owing to the fact that he filled up his work almost entirely with the verses of poets, and himself had very little to say about them, usually in one or two lines, and in special cases only. But even then he could not altogether avoid the use of flowery language here and there, as may be seen from the following wherein he describes a certain poet Ma'ili of Tabriz, who had written a *gasida* in complaint of the governor of that province, who was disliked by the people :

مایای اهلِ آن دیار از دی هائی و قصیدهٔ مولانا مزبور بریں مطلب
 حاکم الخ

(*Ibid.*, p. 398.)

پدر ره یافتم و به حکم پدر بخدمت استاد شنافتم تا از
شفقت استاد چشم از نامه روشنائی و دستم بخامه
آشنائی یافت -

We have thus seen that the Safawī period, which stands a contrast with that of the Mughal in India, indirectly contributed a great deal towards the growth and 'standardisation of florid style, which continued to be popular with all grades of writers even after the overthrow of the Safawī and the coming to power of the Qajar dynasty in Persia. It is important to notice the views expressed from time to time, with regard to styles, by the learned scholars who held positions as Munshis and poet-laureates at the Safawī court, and to compare them with those of some later Persian biographers. A few noteworthy instances are as follows. The author of the *Ātashkada*, for example, in his notices of Zuhūrī does not approve his style, nor thinks his poetical merit deserving of any appreciative consideration or value :

Taste of the
Safawī and the
later Persia,
and their views
on styles.

مدتها در هندوستان بوده و مثنوی در بکر
تقارب مشهور به 'ساقی نامه' گفته که در نظر فقیر
حسن زیاده ندارد اما بفصاحت مشهور شده -

¹ *Ātashkada*, p. 97. [Also, refer p. 193 supra.]

For long periods he stayed in India, and composed a *masnawī* in the *taqārūb* metre, better known as the *Sāqī Nāma*, which in my sight does not possess much beauty, although it became famous for its eloquence.

As against this view 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī declares as follows :

رباندانے مثل او ندیدہ سخنورے 'مانند
وی نشنیدہ..... از فهمِ نزاکت بیانِش هر کس
را نصیب نعو از دقایقِ بلاغتِ کلامش هر کوته
اندیشه را حصه نیست... الخ

A master of language like him is not seen ; a possessor of speech (an eloquent) as he, is not heard of. To understand the elegance

¹ *l'iyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 281b.

Note.—It should be observed that Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar and 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī were contemporaries, and their periods almost coincided with each other, so that it cannot be argued that Lutf 'Alī Bēg's Persia was any different from that of Dāghistānī. The latter had, during Nādir Shah's rise to power in Persia, fled to India, but it should not be supposed that he was on that account partial to poets at the Indian courts. On the contrary, he proceeded very cautiously with them, and selected only a few out of the many whom he rejected as unworthy of notice. [*Vide* Preface to the same.] His pronouncements are, therefore, those of a dispassionate critic, and not indiscriminate like his contemporary.

of his discourse is not the lot of every one ;
and to grasp the subtleties of his eloquent
diction is not the share of every one whose
vision is narrow.

Also, Iskandar Munshī, the author of the *‘Ālam
Ārā-i-‘Abbāsī*, in his notices of Zuhūrī and Qumī
under “Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh,” observes as follows :

مولانا ملک قمي و مولانا ظهري..... نور
شعراي زمان و سخن پردازان روزگار و ممتاز
اقربان بودند

Maulānā Malik Qumī and Maulānā. Zuhūrī
. were the lustre of the poets of the age,
and the eloquent of the day, and figured
prominent among their contemporaries.

So too Sā’ib, the poet-laureate of the court of Shāh
‘Abbās, had thought, and felt proud to acknowledge
inspiration from Zuhūrī’s poetry :

صائب نداشتیم سرو برگ این غزل
این فیض از کلامِ ظهري بما رسید

Sā’ib, we did not possess the requisite
material for this *ghazal*,
This benefit accrued to us from the verses of
Zuhūrī.

Vide supra, p. 267.

² *Ibid.*

A similar instance of the *Ātashkada's* judgment of Abū Tālib Kalīm, the poet-laureate of the court of Shāh Jahān, is worth noticing :

مدتی در همدان می بود غرض آخر الامر
 بهندوستان رفته و سالها در آنجا در خدمت
 شاهجهان، بسر می برد. از هر قسم شعر دارد
 لیکن در مثنوی و قصیده و رباعی شعرے کہ قابل
 باشد ندارد -

For a time he was in Hamadān. At last he went over to India, and lived there for years in the service of Shāh Jahān. He possesses all sorts of verses, but in *masnawī*, *qasīda*, *rubā'ī*, he does not possess a single verse which is worthy.

As against this opinion, his contemporary, 'Alī Qulī Wālih, observes as follows :

در عهدِ جهانگیر پادشاه بهندوستان در
 اردوی پادشاهِ مزبور بسر می کرد تا آنکه
 در زمانِ شاهجهان ملک الشعراءِ هندوستان

¹ *Ātashkada*, p. 330.

It is to be noted that of all the principal kinds of poetry only 'ghazal' is generously spared from the sweeping condemnation.

² *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 385a.

گردید اگرچه در علوم کم مایه است لیکن در
شاعری قدرت تمام داشته و اقسام شعر را خوب
می گفته.....ع 'طور معنی بود روشن ا کلیم' -
تاریخ وفات اوست -

In the reign of Jahāngir, he came to India, and lived as a soldier in the army of that king, till he became the poet-laureate of India in the time of Shāh Jahān. Although in sciences his capital is small, but in poetry he had complete power, and composed all kinds of verses beautifully. "The light of the *Sinā'ī* of meaning was from *Kalīm*," is the date of his death.

Similar instances of Rizā Qulī's judgment of poets can be cited. In the following he reviews 'Urfi :

اسمش سید محمدمدتی بسفر هندوستان
رفته و باز گشته.....دیوانش مکرر بنظر رسیده سیاق
اشعارش پسندیده اتالی این عهد نیست -

¹ *Majma'ul Fusahā*, p. 24.

No other Persian or Indian biographer has endorsed this judgment. Even the author of the *Ātashkada* shuddered from expressing such a view, and had to praise 'Urfi's sublimity of thought and his excellences as a poet.

Also, the statement that 'Urfi returned to Persia is not correct. He remained in India since his first arrival, and never went back, except after his death, when his grave was dug and his bones carried from Lahore to Najaf, in strange fulfilment of his own prophecy which he had made in his lifetime [*vide supra*, p. 179.]

His name is Sayyid Muhammad. For a time he went on his travel to India, and came back. His 'diwān' was seen by me twice. The trend of his verses is not liked by the people of this period.

Again, the same view is taken of Sā'ib's poetry. His style was first disapproved by the *Ātashkada*, and subsequently by the *Majma'ul-Fusahā*, which eagerly copied the wordings of his predecessor :

۱ او بهندوستان رفته و باز آمده.....خوش اخلاق
 بود بارے در طریق شاعری طرزے غریب داشه
 که اکنون پسندیده نیست با آنکه صد هزار
 بیت دیوان دارد ناچار بدیسی چند بیت
 اکتفا رفت -

He went to India and came back. He was of gentle and pleasing manners, but in the path of poetry he had curious style which is not liked now. In spite of the fact that he has a poetic collection of 100,000 verses, reluctant (to speak) to these few verses I confined myself.

¹ Ibid., p. 23.

Cf: *Ātashkada*:

در مراتب سخن گسری طرز خاصے دارد که عباہتے بخصای
 متقدمین ندارد و با آنکه با قصیدہ و رباعی میلے نداہتے دیوانش قریب
 بیکصد ہزار بیت ملاحظہ شدہ و بعد از مراعات بسیار این چند بیت
 انتخاب شد -

The popularity of Sā'ib as a poet, in Persia, India, Central Asia, and Turkey, was unsurpassed by any other poet of Persian language of his day. The very fact that after his return from India he was appointed poet-laureate at the court of Shāh 'Abbās II, is an eloquent testimony to his capabilities and recognition in Persia. He came as a reformer, and the promulgator of '*misāliya*' (or proverbial) poetry. 'Alī Qulī Wālih writes thus :

از شعراي عالي مقدار..... و در طرز خود
امام فن بود..... البح

He was of a high order of poets, and in his style was the *Imām* of the art of poetry.

The disapprobation of the *Ātak:kuda* and the *Majma'ul Fusahā* is sweeping in the case of poets who came down to India. Those who remained in Persia were abundantly praised although they stood no comparison with poets like Faizī, 'Urfī, Zuhūrī, Sā'ib, and others. In certain cases the critics shrewdly observed silence as to poetical merits, but picked up other things which least concerned them. A good instance is that of their examination of Faizī. While both speak not a word as to his poetical merit, the latter takes up Faizī's *Tafsīr* of

¹ *Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā*, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 385a.

the Qur'ān, and comments on it as being useless and a labour lost.¹

In the light of such criticism of all first-grade poets who were distinguished in particular branches of poetry, and were gifted with variety of styles, which have been disapproved by the authors of the *Ātashkada* and the *Majma'ul Fusahā*, under the plea that they were not liked by the Persians in that age, one is at a loss to make out what style was then liked by them! The real depth of the critics' remarks, though not yet adequately measured, their rectitude is, however, shown as dubious in the light thrown by other Persian biographers and poets, both of the later and the contemporary Persia. The one harm done was that some English historians too, relying on such weak evidence, took a narrow view of the part played by India in the uplift of Persian language, in general, and its contribution to poetry in particular. To dispel this notion and to determine India's right place, has been the chief object of this work; and the efforts made at the Deccan and the Mughal courts are contrasted with those of the contemporary Persia, which coincided with the Safawi period, under the patronage of their respective kings.

¹ Cf:

شیخ فیضی را تالیفات است مسموع افتاده که نیمه قرآن مجید
را به نفا تفسیر کرده گفته بیجا مل کشیده

[*Majma'ul Fusahā*, p. 26.]

A distinguished orientalist thought an Indian scholar not quite competent as a judge of Persian poetry, and compared him with a

An English Orientalist on Indian appreciation of Persian poetry.

Frenchman who having "learned English entirely from books, without being able either to speak it or to understand it when spoken, sat in judgment on Byron and Tennyson."¹ The very premises being defective, the conclusions drawn are *prima facie* wrong. The fallacies are : first, the long-continued and close association of Persia with India and their scholars' intimate relationship with each other for centuries past, through social ties and pre-Mughal and Mughal patronage, hardly justified the comparison of an Indian scholar with a Frenchman of that standard.

Second, the product of poets like Amīr Khusrāu, Khwāja Hasan, and Faizī; and among Persian emigrants, Nazirī, 'Urfī, Zuhūrī, Malik Qumī, Ghizālī, Khwāja Husain Mervī, Qāsim Kāhī, Tālib Āmulī, Sā'ib, Kalim, and others, who perfected their poetry in the poetical atmosphere obtained at the Indian courts, were recognised as accomplished poets all over Persia and Central Asia.

¹ Prof. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, pp. 226-7.

Note.—This idea was taken from P. G. Hamerton's *Intellectual Life*, and hurled against Indian scholars as follows:

"Transform this Frenchman into an Indian or a Turk, and substitute 'Persian' for 'English' and 'Qā'ānī' for 'Byron and Tennyson,' and the above remarks admirably apply to most Turkish and Indian appreciations of Persian poetry."

Third, Persian was, for centuries, held as the court language of India, and became almost the native tongue of the Indian Musalmāns, and the medium of expression in all their literary, historical, and otherwise writings. Also, the language in which they conversed, all the twenty-four hours, with their Persian associates, and their own people, was Persian.

The remark of the learned critic thus, judged on its own merit in the light of the historical data supplied, has no justification, and apparently breaks down under the test of reality. It might, possibly apply to certain orientalists other than the Indians, who, reading Persian poets in their alien dress, through translations only, sat in judgment on Faizī, and other leading poets of the Mughal court.¹

The critical survey by Indian scholars of Persian poets merits comparison with that of any Persian critic of the highest order. A good many instances can be cited of Badāūnī, Faizī, Abul Fazl, and others, who, in their review of poets, selected only such verses as could worthily be produced as their best specimens. To contrast their selection with that of the Persian biographers, the following illustrations will suffice. Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, and Badāūnī, both in their selections of Zuhūrī, quote

Critical appreciation of poetry in India, and Persia.

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 50.

certain verses from his lyric poetry. Those of Luft 'Ali Beg Āzar are :

دیگران نامها ازو دارند
اینکه مارا نکرده یاد بس است
بطفلی خدمت پیری نکردیم
به پیری خدمت طفلی ضرور است
ره گم نکرده ناله و گلگون ز پا نماند
اصلي نبوده میشوند اینها حکایت است
قصه خود می کنم از خجالت قاصد هر دم
کاینچنین از نظر افتاده پیغام من است
دشمن بغلط اسیر گشته است
بندش بکشا که بیگناه است
ترك هم صحبتی اهل هوس مرد کند
من ندانم چه بگویم که ترا درد کند
بحقاک بیزیم افتاده کارومی ترسم
که در ره تو بر آید بسنگ پای کسی

As against these, Badāūnī selected only one verse which is as follows :

ظهوری شکوات از یار بیجاست
تو بے طالع فتادی جرم او چیست

¹ *Ātashkada*, p. 97.

² *Badāūnī*, Vol. III, Account of Zuhūrī, p. 270.

From this it can be seen clearly how far Badāūnī was behind (?) or ahead of Lutf 'Alī Bēg in his selection of Zuhūrī.

Again, the same critics, in their selection of Malik Qumī, give only one verse, a comparison of which readily reveals their respective tastes and their power of judgment :

‘خونچکانست ملک تیغِ ستم می ترسم
که پی آخر بدر خانۀ قاتل برود
رفتم که خار از پاکشم محملِ نهال شد از نظر
یک لحظه غافل گشتم و صدساله را هم دور شد

Here, too, Badāūnī stands out pre-eminent, and his selection keeps our Persian judge at a respectable distance.

Similarly, Abul Fazl's selections of Ghizālī, Faizī, 'Urfī, and others, and Lutf 'Alī Bēg's and Rizā Qulī Khān's selections of the same poets, create the same impression. In all such cases, which

¹ *Ātashkada*, p. 317.

It may be noted that Lutf 'Alī Bēg in quoting this verse under Qumī, also mentions that in India it was commonly attributed to Malik Qumī, but a certain Persian poet Malik Taifūrī claimed it to be his own composition, and for that special object sent a messenger to the poet in Deccan.

² Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 334.

This verse has been chiefly selected by the author as Qumī's best verse, and is not mixed with his other verses. Cf., the statement :

د از بهترین اشعار دی برعم نقیر این بیت است

have been closely examined, it can strongly be asserted that both these Persian biographers improved nothing on their Indian predecessors : Abul Fazl and Badāūnī. On the contrary, the selections of the latter contain some very best verses which are omitted by the Persian authors, and are replaced by some very inferior ones which do no credit to the poets. Not only the Indian scholar's judgment was a worthy one, but that their patrons too were equally good critics, and successfully reviewed Persian poets.¹

قوت بالاختیر

حاصلِ عمرِ نثارِ رہِ یارے کردم
شادم از زندگیِ خویش کہ کارے کردم

¹ Cf : Akbar's criticism of Ṭālib, and Fughānī and improving on their verses [*vide supra*, p. 25.]

Also cf., Humāyūn's criticism of Jahl Yatmiyān of Bukhārā, and Hairatī of Māwarā-un-Nahr [Vide Pt. II *Humāyūn* pp. 24-25.]

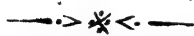
N. B.

*The Persian text of Zuhūrī's **Seh Nasr**, produced here, has been collated with several valuable MSS. found at the Habībganj Library of Nawāb Sadr Yār Jang Bahādur, the State Library of H. H. the Nawāb of Rāmpūr, and the Āsī Press Library, Lucknow. It is much to be hoped that its publication together with an English translation will largely benefit the students of the Indian Universities, and will also prove helpful to those interested in the study of classical Persian.*

و بنوازندہ کہ بمقتراح نغمہ دیو نوازش بروی سامعان کشاودہ کہ بدو دستبر
تو صفیش اندازہ قلم ہیچ بدیع رقم نیست و شدہ قانون تعریفش حد نفس
ہیچ نجستہ دم نے۔ ہنگنان را بسا عدت بخت سعادت بسا طبوسی روزی
باد تا فراخو رفتنت و فطرت خود بہرہ مند و مخطوفا گشتہ بر حقیقت حال و
صدق مقال مطلع گردند۔ بتقریب این دعا یا و آمد کہ اطنا ب د از ادوست۔
بزمزمہ دعائے اختتام دم نوازش اثر اہتمام واجب و لازم دانست۔
فقرات و عاثیہ : تا از کاش طنبور نورشید تا رشاعی در مدین است
نسیم نغمہ از محبت مجلس خدا یگانے و روزیدن باد و تا بر قانون سخن
تا نفس نواختہ مضارب زبان است ترا نہ شنائے جہان بان و خیرہ کام
و زبان جہان بان باد۔ قطعہ

تا د معنی بہر لفظ چنگ قانون آوند لفظ پر د از ان معنی ساز و بر زم بیان
باز اقبالش بصید ملک نگین چنگ باد تا چنگ عشرتش با د از سترن بر امن
ہم بر ہنگ شتایش نغمہ قانون دہ ہم بوق مدعایش رسم و قانون جہان

مصرع :- زمین دعا با بر اجابت منت بسیار ہاد



بیت

در کمالات اے خرد پسنابین کم زرشحے پیش آن دریا بین ہے
 چون صفیت بے نیازی خاصہ کردگار است و سایہ کردگار را اگر احتیاء
 هست نیست الا بحر یفائے کہ درخور کیفیت و چاشنی خود شراب سخن و نقل
 نغمہ برایشان پیامید و باندازہ عقول در اندازہ لب ہم زبان کشاید خوشا
 ذوق چمن طبعے کہ بدرک نکات رنگینش رنگ فمیدن بر چہرہ تواندست و
 زہے سبک و حے کہ ببال اہتر از مرغ دلش بر شاخسار نمہائے نازک
 تواند نشست - چہ دشوار است بر قائل بلند سخن با سامع کوتاہ دریافت
 ساختن - و سخن و الارتبہ را بضرورت از پایہ خود انداختن مثل حال جوہر
 فروش و نقاشی است کہ یکے در کسستن گوہر گرانبہا دل سخت کند تا مشتری
 تنگ مایہ دست بیع تواند داد و دیگرے قلم نزاکت رقم از تیزی پردازد
 تا مبصر کند نظر چشم تماشا تواند کشود - چون صفحات خواطر خاص و عام
 زیر مشق خامہ او ہام است آنکہ بتماشاے مجلس بہشت آئین کائن گاہ
 سماع نہ بست اند و عید و نوروز چشم و گوش ندانست و عقل مصور و روح
 مجسم ندیدہ و لایلی کلام معجز نظام در درج گوش ہوش نچیدہ اندگان
 برند کہ این ستایش از مقولہ ستایش دیگر مدعا نیست کہ در مدح ممدوح
 خود مبالغہائی کنند و قطرہ و ذرہ ایشان را منہج دریا و مطلع آفتاب
 میدانند - اگرچہ صدق مقال ظہوری ظہورے دارد اما بر فح این مظنہ
 قسم یاد میکند - بنگارندہ کہ بر بجان خط خوبان مشک را بر سرین برات

کہ لکب مک و قلم اصلاح نشدہ بود سطر سطر و صفو صفو بجوے خجالت شستند و انچه
از زبان معجز میان شنیدند نوشتہ خود را درین شرح نویسی بمثابہ خامہ خود آلت
تحریر انکاشتند۔ غرضکہ ہم متانت متن از ہمدانی او ہم انشراح شرح
از شگفتہ بیانی او۔ قطعہ

اوب آموز و نکستہ اندوزند گر عراقی و گر خراسانی
کو فلاطون کہ باہمہ فطنت تہ کندزانوے سبق خواتی
اینکہ خود بنفس نفیس توجہ بر تحریر دیباچہ فرمودہ اند فوائد و اغراض
منظور و ملحوظ است۔ آری بدفع گزند عین الکمال با عقد لالی شاہوار
خزنی ناچار است و مضامین جانفزاے باغ و بوستان را غار و خستہ رکاب۔
کافور در جنب قیر کشیدن و شکر بعد از حنظل چشیدن حکمت است۔ و فی الحقیقتہ
ترقیم دیباچہ ہم بفیض تعلیمات است کہ بتقریبات فرمودہ اند کہ سخنور را باید
کہ اول ملاحظہ نشست سخن نماید۔ چہ بسا عبارت باشد کہ لفظی در آن زیادہ
و کم نکنند و بہ اندک تقدیمی و تاخیری معنی بسرفرازی و گیر بر کر سبی لفظ
نشیند۔ و برجیدین سگریزہ لفظی درشت از راہ سخن کہ آسیب پاپے اسپ
بیان نرسد امر کردہ اند۔ از تاریکی و باریکی الفاظ کہ دست و پا سے خورد
راہ بمعنی آن نیابد نہی فرمودہ اند۔ و امثال آن سخنها مکر استماع افتادہ۔
بپالایش ذہن منش طبع مستفیدان صاف و حلقہ شاگردیش زیور گوش
اہل انصاف۔ الحاصل اگر گلے تحفہ بہار شود ہم از بہار است و اگر درس
نہادہ دریا گردد ہم از دریا است۔

رسید از داورس شاو سخن رس بفریاد نفسها نقش نورس
 بفرمان حق و طبع بفرمان سخن را کرد پیکر نغمه را جان
 رو پر مردگی بر تازگی بست چه نقش در بلند آوازگی بست
 بخورشید درخشان پر تو بے دُ نوی را طرقت تشریف نوی داد
 سخن پاس شکوه و شان خود دا کرد یوان شه یوان خود دا
 کشد صد داستان هر صفحہ در لب ورق را گرز نند انگشت بر لب
 سطور از رشتہ آواز دارد ورق از پردہاے ساز دارد
 مروفش در ورقها جملہ ہم پشت کہ نهند پیچکس بر حرفش گشت
 نوی میبال گو خوش فارغ البال کہ نورس کنکی را کرد پا مال
 خدا پیرایہ بخشد از قبولش مصون دارد ز رُو هر فضولش
 از آنجا کہ عواطف خسروانہ و مراحم پادشاهانہ شامل حال دور و
 نزدیک است اہل عراق و خراسان را از ذوق این محروم نخواست و
 خواست کہ این نغمہ را سیر عجم اتفاق افتد تا بدرک معنیش ہر روزہ
 نوروزے کنند - فرمان واجب الاذعان عزہ صدوریافت کہ استادگان
 پایہ سریر خلافت مصیر عرش نظیر نقد قابلیت واستعداد خود را بپاے
 محکم امتحان آورده شرع بلفظ مجمل ومعنی مفصل بردارند و بعضی فیود مبنی
 بر مصطلحات مرقوم سازند - باوجود آنکہ بتلاش اقیاز در موشگافیہا نہایت
 وقت بکار رفت ہنگام عرض سخن از تغیر الفاظ و تبدیل عبارات وتصرفات
 بجای آوردن حتی ادا حدیم السہو ایکہ صفو انشائے شان ہرگز آشتائے
 (۱۱)

رباعی

از شاه و کن جهان نشاط آباد است خاک غم از آب نغمه اش برباد است
 از باب تراز کمنه شاگردانند آنکس که از نوشده طرناستاد است

وجه تسمیہ این کتاب آنکہ

ہندیان نہ شیرہ مجمع را نورس میگویند و فارسیان اگر نورس نہ بال
 فضل و کمالت دانند بجاست و باین معنی کہ این شاہد بے عیب از پردہ غیب
 بجلوہ کا و طور نورسیدہ نورس خوانند ہم رواست - ع

قیاس مستی ازین اسم گیر

فضاے دیدن بصفحاتش گلشن و سواد خواندن بہ بیاہش روشن -
 ہر صفحہ چنے و ہر سطرے نخلے - برگش لفظ و گلش - بارش معنی بپیش -
 بلبل فصاحت برگزینا کت تحریر و تقریر و نظر نگار گیان از موج و طوبیت
 عبارات روان در زنجیر - سنبلی حرفش از آواز آشکیبان - بنفشہ نقطہ اش
 از خال و لہریبان - از ریح طراوت کلمات نہر سطر مالا مال آب حیات -
 خضر تشنہ لب سیرابی ادا - میحامدہ جان بخشی ہوا - نکتہ ہائے برستہ غنچہ
 سربستہ - رنگینی بشقایق در کار - شگفتگی بشیرینی پر بار - شوقی

زر نگینیش گل در فازہ جوی ز سیرایش گل در تازہ روی
 مگو نورس کہ فردوس برین است نہ تنها خلق رضوان ہم برین است
 کسے نہ نسان تواند ساخت گلزار کہ چیند چون خلیل از نار گلزار

عروس بود از پیرایه عاری
 کنونش آسمان پاسبان است
 ز بخت پست خود در شرمساری
 لالی حق پرورین سپند است
 سراپا گردن و گوش عروس است
 ز شاگردیش استادان سخن ساز
 خیال شاه و الابس بلند است
 حلاوت چاشنی گیر از بیانش
 نزاکت را از طبعش ناز بر ناز
 بشیرینی مؤلف از زبانش
 چنان شیرین کند هر حرف و خط
 که شیرینی کند در گوشها تل
 به آن سنگینی از کاه آورد یاد
 کوه از بار رشک آمد بفریاد
 ساز و لفظ گل در گفتگو درج
 نسا زد تا در و صد رنگ و بو خرج
 دهد در قطره سر طوفان دریا
 بحرف آورد ترکیبش شمارا
 متانت گشته آله این بنارا
 ز تر تیبش بجای خوشبخت
 سخن از فکر حفظ مرتبت رست
 ز تر تیبش بجای خوشبخت
 بزور گریب بین چشمه کشاید
 و گرز و جز هنر بینی نیاید

و از جمله حقوقی که بر اصحاب عقل و فرهنگ و ارباب نعمه و آهنگ
 ثابت و لازم ساخته آنست که بترتیب و تسوید کتاب نورس پرداخته
 و سامعه و ناطقه را بخوانند و شنیدن آن نواخته و التزام این نموده که چنانچه
 تازگی معانی طراوت به الفاظ بخشیده نوی نغفات نقشهای که برین اشعار
 در رنثار بسته شد حلقه اثر برد لها کو بد و بیا نفس گویندگان گرد نمایند نو
 و کمن از روایای خاطر شنوندگان رو بد -

بتلافی آن کشادہ۔ تمنائے اربابِ ہنر بہ پیرایۃ التفاتش معشوقِ حصول و
از اہل استعداد نکتہ بہ کتابے و گلے بگلزار سے قبول۔ خارِ راہِ ہنر در پائی کہ
خلیدہ کہ بگلشتگی مرحمتش باغِ باغِ گل مرادِ نچیدہ و تلخیِ مشقتِ کسبِ کمال
کہ چشیدہ کہ بجاشنی رافقتش مصرعہ شکرِ بکام در کشیدہ و در ہیچ چیز حسنِ ہنر
پہنہاں نگروید کہ تمیزش آشکارا بہ آن عاشقی نورزیدہ۔ اگر از تحریکِ باد
موجِ آب بہ ہنجاری تحریر ریزاست یا از جلوہ آتش دُخانِ مرغولہ انگیز بہ تعریف
این گرم نفس است و توصیفِ آن تر زبان۔ اگرچہ بسببِ عادلیت و ادبِ کمال
ہنر دادہ و امید بہ سبحان اللہ در فنِ سخن چہا پر داختم و می پردازد۔ ہرچہ
در میان نہادہ ذہن نقادش از ربوہ قبول بر کران و انچہ نسخیدہ طبع
و قادش از بسکی بر خاطر گران۔ بالغِ کلامانِ مدرسہ سخن طفلانِ مکتب
زباندا میش و شہسوارانِ میدانِ بیان پیادگانِ عرصہ نکتہ رانیش۔ گاہ
تفصیلش قطرہ منبج دریا سے بیکران و وقتِ اجالاش ذرہ مغربِ آفتاب
دخشان۔ آوازہ طومارِ بلاغتش آویزہ گوشِ فصاحت و شورِ شیرینیِ گفتش
نمکِ مائدہ ملاحظت۔ نقطہ خامہ ابہامش مہرِ گنجینہ اسرارِ شمعہ شعلہ
توضیحش صیقلِ آئینہ افکار۔ کامِ سخن در شکر افتادہ شیرینی ادا۔ گردنِ
صیدِ معنی در کند اندازِ رسا۔ دیدہ امید جانہا بر جنبش لبِ بشارت و
سندِ تملیک و لہا در کفِ ابرو سے اشارت۔ نثرتِ نثرۃ رفعت و شعرش
شعری مرتبت۔ ہر حرفش فصلے و ہر فرعش اصلے۔ مثنوی
سخن را بارِ خاطر بود کو ہے نبودش صاحبِ صا شکو ہے

تارِ طنبور بعلاجِ علیل نهادان در سیخائی - خطِ بندگی خطش در بغلِ چهره لاله رویان
 و تارِ دین سازش بر دوشِ طره مرغوله مویان - با تو قیجِ خانه عنبر شامه اش
 عطار در اچه چاره جز سر بر خطِ فرمان نهادن - بمشا هده شاد پرده سازش
 زهره را چه زهره غیر از پرده بدر افتادن - قلش ماسطه صفه دهر - رقص
 منسخ چهره مهر - مشغومی

ز خطش سر مبر و چشم دیدن	ز سازش حلقه در گوش شنیدن
بفر تاج او سوگند خورشید	ب تار ساز او پیوندنا هسید
چکد چون خامه بردارد به انشا	عطار در دواش قطره آسا
عروس صفحه خطش نگار بیت	حرفش گرچه هر یک خود نگار بیت
نقطه بر حرفش دانه چید است	چنین دام نگه گیری که دید است
کمر چو در فن صورت نگریست	قلم از طره حور و پری بست
ز نقاشی برنگه چهره آراست	که نقش ساده اش چنین نما خواست
اگر بلبل کشد آواز بشنو	و د آواز را پرواز بشنو
نگیرد طائرش بر صفحه آرام	نسازد گر بپایش مهر خود دام
ز گلچیدن باغش فصل خورد	شگفته غنچهها از جنبش باد
چو او کس صورت معنی نبرد	بدعوی لیک چون مانی نه برد
هنر گو خند با برب به انبار	ز اشک غم بن مرثگان بیفش
هنر پرور بزی گو در عزیری	که آخر شد زمان بے تمیزی
انچه تا غایت روزگار مضایقه در کم هنری نهاده	کرم ز یاد بخشش دست

بشرابِ نجمِ مندلِ سرمست - بپاکوبیِ اصول و دستکِ زنیِ تالِ تاکِ
اندوہ و ملالِ پائمال و بنگھمے نقشِ نورسِ فضاے کہنِ سراے
جہانِ از نشاطِ مالا مال - اہیات

ز بس در نعمہ انگیز نیست ایام سزد قصد اگر در گور بہرام
تدویرِ نعمہ بر لبِ شیانِ ساخت تر تخمِ خانہ در کام و دہانِ ساخت
بشہرے مرغِ دلہا راست آہنگ کہ از بام و درش میو وید آہنگ
ہوار از امتزاجِ نعمہ آن حال کہ موسیقار ساز و مرغِ را بال
زبانہا از شرابِ نعمہ سرمست نفسہا پائے کو بان و دستِ بر دست
خموشی را در آورده بہ آواز بہ نورسِ شہر یا رِ نعمہ پر داز
گر اکسیرِ سرور و سور سازند ز خاکِ پاکِ بیجا پور سازند
اگر بہ رسومِ جہان بینی و قواعدِ گیتی ستانی و ترتیبِ رزم و بزم و رعایتِ
عزم و جزم کہ آیتِ است و در شانِ او و تشریفِ است بر قد و کمالِ یعنی قیام و
اقدام نماید چه عجب - عجب آنست کہ در ہر فن مثل ساز و خط و تصویر کہ وفوقِ ہا
عصرِ قرنہا بمشوقِ بے قرینگیِ برزانوے جد و جد نشسته منشور ہنر درست نمود
کلاہ گوشہ تفاخر بر آسمانِ شکستہ اند باندک توجہی و در کمتر زمانی علم امتیاز
بر افراشتہ در زبانہا بہ تحسینِ خود سخنے نگذاشتہ - شہنشاہِ ہنر آفرینِ خواندش
بیانِ واقع و مهارتش در صنایعِ دلیلِ قدرتِ صانع - خرد خردہ کار
قلم بندِ نقشِ پردازیش و عقلِ رنگِ آمیزِ صد فدا صورتِ سازیش -
بجلا پردازِ چشمِ کور سوادانِ بمیلِ قلم در سرمہ سائی و بہ نبضِ گیری

صغیر مرگِ ناگمانی - رایتش سرو بن گلشن فتح و نصر - خنجرش ماہی دریا
ظفر - کمر سعی بعاضدت مرحتش چست و شکست ہنر بمویائی تزیینش
درست - گوہر در نظرش بقدر ترا از ریگ بصحرا - وعدہ اش بوفا
نزدیک ترا از موج بدربیا - استعارہ بحر کفش ابرا در نشانی و تشبیہ
رخسارہ دلفروزش آفتاب را در نشانی - با سنگینی حملش گرانی کوی سبکی
کاه و با علو قدرش بلندی سدرہ پستی گیاه - سخن با آن بلندی کہ
از کوتاہی سقفِ فلک صد جا خمیدہ چمیدہ در اندازِ آستان بوشنایش
سر بزیر پاکشیدہ - تعداد فضایل و حصر کمالش آبِ دریا بکمالِ مشت
پیمودن و ریگ صحرا با گلشت شمردن - براہل زمان شکر این
عطیہ عظمی کہ با دراکِ زمان ابد پیوندش مفتخر و مستعد اند واجب
و لازم است - خصوصاً بر ساکنانِ عرصہ دکن کہ در ہر طرف
مجلس و در ہر گوشہ محفلے آراستہ و پیراستہ بصلای دوام بر خوان
ذوقِ حضور و مایہ عیش و سرور نشستہ اند - بنوازش روزگار
دائرہ را کہ مرکزِ دائرہ اصول است مغزِ نشاط از پوست بدر
چیدہ و بتارہاے قانون کہ مسطر کتابِ نعمات است رقم عیش
بر صفحاتِ احوال کشیدہ - طنبور در شکارِ ہوش کمند تار بردوش -
نئے با حیاے سور در دیدنِ صور - از کیل کاسہ کمانچہ گوش
سامعہ انبارِ نغمہ - ترانہ سازانِ ہند بسنجیدنِ ترانہاے خزانگی
ترازوے جنتر و بین و درست و ورع پیشگانِ ہوشیار مغز

بزیرِ قصرِ قدرش در تماشا سر بر پشتِ عقل دست بالا
 خلائق جلد مفتونِ هوایش و کیلم من همه جانها فدایش
 بخلقش حق نداده احتیاجے و ہمارا براے مارواجے
 دہ صد بحر و کانِ حاصلِ از دست نیار و داد اما یک دل از دست
 کسے رازِ بیداند از نشانِ رش کہ باشد عالم جان در کنارش
 رہے اسکندر افلاطون فطنت کہ دانائی و دادائی از دور پناہ
 ہم می بالند۔ حبذا پرویز باربد ترانہ ریز کہ بسر انگشتِ نغمائے
 سرت افزایش گوشِ محنت و غم می بالند۔ بہ شمیمِ خلقش سمن را
 فتنِ خنق نافہ در جیب و دامان و بہ نسیمِ لطفش غنچہ را چمنِ چین
 خندہ در زیر لب پنهان ۔ بتوفیقِ زمزمہ شنایش نطق را دم نواز
 تقریر و بتوفیر اجارہ دعایش صدف را کفِ اجابت پُر از گوہر تاثیر
 فرمانِ تضار امضائے حکم نافذش در کار و نسخہ تقدیر را بلعہ تدبیر
 صائبش بر کنار۔ شمالِ گلشن و فاق را تا کیدِ غنچہ دل شکفانیدن
 و صرصر کوئے نفاق را تہدیدِ غبار بر خاطر نشانیدن ۔ در قتل
 بد عمدان جلا و اجل با شحمہ غضبش ہم سو گند و در کارِ خائے
 مجبتش سر رشته عمر با عشرتِ دوام ہم پیوند۔ نغمہ قانونِ عدالتش
 ملک نواز و شعلہ کانونِ سیاستش ظلم گداز۔ سطوتش زور و در نیچہ
 شیر شکن ۔ رزمش اجل و در خون نلکن۔ الفتش رم آہو ربا۔
 بزمش جا بر جم پیا۔ آب تیغش آتشِ خرمنِ زندگی۔ باد تیرش

ز عدلش گوے عدل دیگران چیست
 تفاوت کفر و دین آمد بمعنی
 ز بیدایش خواب این زنانش
 ز تیغش پیکر خصمان دو پیکر
 سمندش را پسند از خال محبوب
 مہ نو حلقہ در گوش رکابش
 سنانش چون علم ساز دگر گشت
 بر انگیزد بہر جانب کہ لشکر
 بکین چرخ گر رخ بر فروزد
 ز جودش قطرہ در لجه گنجید
 سخناے کہ نشنیدہ شنیدہ است
 خبر از راز پنهانیش دادند
 و عایش گر نگر دو با اثر رام
 بجانہا تخم مہری کشت از ان دست
 بہر از مہر و رزاں بر سر آمد
 نہ تنہا عشق را پشت و پناہ است
 دماغ از تار موی او تار است
 نہد خور ہر طرف دای ز تارش
 ادب در پیشگا ہش پیشکارے
 با و ناز و لقب نوشیروان کیست
 میان عدل او تا عدل کسری
 بچشم پاسبانش کرد بالمش
 ز گرزش فرقہا را سینہ مغفر
 کمندش را رخ از گہاے تجذوب
 یکے از نیزہ داران آفتابش
 شود تسبیح ساز از مہرہ پشت
 بگیرد گرد روی راہ صرصر
 نگہ در چشم مہر و مہ بسوزد
 ز خلقش نغمہ در غنچہ پیچید
 فراست را تو گوئی آفریدہ است
 سواد خط پیشانییش دادند
 اثر از دم رو و چون وحشی از دم
 کہ در ہر سو صد انبار دلش است
 عرض عشق و دل او جو ہر آمد
 بر اے حسن ہم امید گاہ است
 نگہ را باغ روی او بہار است
 کزان رو پر توے گرد و نکارش
 جبیشش را حیا آئینہ دارے

گلِ داغش کے راستہ از شاخ کہ چوں لے آتخنانش گشتہ سوراخ
 چوئے آنکس نفس در نغمہ افگند کہ از کاہش سراپاے خود آگند
 چو از دروش شود پشت دو تا چ دود دل تار ہائے نالہ در جنگ
 پر و خالی پراند از نغمہ دوست بہیں دت را کہ چوں بر مید رو پوشت
 درود با ساز و برگ بر نوازندہ امتان کہ قانون دین بمضارب
 ہر ایش پڑ صداست و صلوة پر شعبہ و آوازہ بر آل و اصحابش کہ
 بر کشی ضراعت شان ساز شفاعتش نغمہ راست - رباعی
 سلطانِ رسل کہ حلا را تاج سر است قانون بقا طفیل او نغمہ و راست
 در چار حد از شعبگی اوزدہ دم ہر کس زد دواز دہ نقاش خبر است
 اما بعد مزودہ شنیدن را بگفتن سخن شہنشاہ سخنور نکتہ پرور نغمہ پرور
 ترانہ ساز عرش طارم فلک نیم کیوان ہم مرینخ حشم خورشید علم
 برجیس شیم ناہید نغمہ عطار در قم قمر خدم ظیل نوال یوسف جمال
 داؤد الحان سلیمان مکان عدل افزاے ظلم کاہ ابراہیم مادشاہ
 خدا اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ و افاض علی العالمین برہ و احسانہ - مثنوی
 جہانگیر و جہاندار و جہان بخش فلک قدر و فلک تخت و فلک بخش
 کف ہمت دم شمشیر جرات دماغ ہوشمندی مغر فطرت
 خلیل کعبہ دل زو مباہی برو صادق شنائے قبلہ گاہی
 چنین تارک پئے افسر کہ دارد شہنشاہی جزا و دیگر کہ دارد
 اگر یزست عیشتان ز جاش و گر رزست ز نگین از حاش

سہ نثر ظہوی

نثر اول

نورس

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

سرود سرایانِ عشرتکدہ قال کہ بنورس سرابستانِ حال کارِ کام
و زبانِ ساختہ بشہدِ ثنائے صانعی عذب البیان اند کہ چاشنیِ نعمہاے
شکرین در رگ و پے نے دوا نیدہ - و خوش نفسانِ حینِ نشانی کہ بہ بسط
بساطِ انبساطِ پرداختہ بزلالِ حمدِ خالقِ رطب اللسان اند کہ گلِ ترانہا
تراز شاخسارِ صوت و صدا دما نیدہ - محلِ شوقِ حجازِ یانش بصدای
تالِ ہندیان زنگلہ بند - و زخمِ جگرِ عراقِ یانش بنمکِ تارِ طنبورِ ترکان
در شکرِ خند - جلاجلِ اوراقِ درختانِ ہواے او ترانہ ریز و بلبلان
منقارِ بلبلان ہواے او نعمہ خیر - مشنوی

درین بتائسرا اقلندہ غفل	سخن گردید گلبنِ نعمہ بلبل
زبانرا مطربِ بزمِ دہن کرد	نفس را دکش سازِ سخن کرد
بضبطِ نعمہ اسرارِ پرداخت	ز صندوقِ تنِ خلقِ ارغنونِ ساخت
رباب از مغزِ راز آمد بگفتن	شدش خشک از غمِ او پوستِ برتن

APPENDIX A
Part I.—“*Nauras*”
OR
The New Fruit

APPENDIX A

I

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE COMPAS- SIONATE AND THE MERCIFUL

The *Nauras*

The songsters of the pleasure-house of speech¹ (the learned) that have accomplished the work of the palate and tongue (*i.e.*, given good relish to their appetite) with the fresh fruit² of Divine ecstasy,³ are sweet-voiced with the honey of praise for such an Artist as has caused the taste of sweet notes to run into the veins and fibres of the reed; and the gay-hearted denizens of the garden of Mirth (poets) that have busied themselves in spreading the carpet of joy, are sweet-tongued with the fresh water of the praise of a Creator Who has grown flowers of fragrant tunes on the twigs of sound and echo (*i.e.*, given melody to human voice).

¹ سرود سرايان عشرتكدۀ قال : Men of profound secular learning.

² نبرس : That which has newly arrived or recently matured.

³ حال : A term in Sūfism. It relates to an ecstatic condition that at times overcomes the heart of a Sūfī rendering him quite insensible to worldly affairs, and transporting him to a close communion with God. It is thus a kind of inspired state to which the Devout are subject.

سرود سرايان ساختہ : This whole line simply means :

People who have combined the knowledge of God with their worldly accomplishments, *i.e.*, those who have qualified themselves both materially and spiritually.

Quatrain

He is the king of Apostles, the crown for the head of all ;
through whose favour the harp of Existence¹ produces music
(i.e. the world exists through him).

He alone within the four corners of this world,² can claim
to be his offspring, who is conscious of the exalted position of
the twelve Imāms³ (i.e. one who is destitute of the love of his
progeny cannot claim to be counted among his adherents).

After this, good news be to the faculty of hearing by the
utterance of the word of praise for the Emperor who is erudite,
a supporter of the arts, skilled in music, composer of song, whose
house-roof is as high as the ninth sky, whose magnanimity
is like that of Saturn, whose army equals that of Mars, whose
flag is the Sun, whose manners are like those of Jupiter, whose
tunes are the tunes of Venus, whose writing is like that of
Mercury, whose servants are like those of the Moon, who
is hospitable like *Khalil*,⁴ who possesses Joseph's beauty and
David's voice, whose castle equals Solomon's, who increases
justice and decreases tyranny, the Emperor Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh,
may God perpetuate his kingdom and royalty and extend
the benefit of his goodness and benevolence to the people
of both the worlds.

¹ Here seems to be an allusion to the following verse revealed
on the Prophet :—

لَو لَى لِمَا خَلَقْتَ السَّمَاوَاتِ

(If thou wert not, I would not have created the skies.)

² چار حد : The four boundaries. Here is a recondite allusion
to the four immediate successors of the Prophet.

³ دوازده مقام : The twelve principal Persian tones of music.
Here it is supposed to refer to the twelve Imāms.

⁴ The surname of the Prophet Abraham, the founder of *Ka'ba*.
He was famous for his hospitality.

Masnawī

Possessor of the world, conqueror of the world, giver of the world, whose dignity, whose throne, whose horse, are like those of the sky. He is the palm of resolution, the edge of the sword of bravery, the brain of prudence, and the marrow of wisdom.

The *Khalīl* of the Ka'ba of heart takes pride in him; the title of *Qibla Gāhī*¹ befits his person (*i.e.*, hearts have as much attraction for him as people for Ka'ba). Who has such a head for wearing a crown? Who else has a monarchy except him? If an assembly is a luxuriant place, it is from his wine cup; if a battle is coloured in red, it is from his sword. What is the justice of others as compared with his? His surname: '*the just*' feels proud of him; what is Naushīrwān?

The difference between his justice and that of *Kisrā*² is, in reality, the same as that between religion and blasphemy. On account of his wakefulness the sleep of his subjects is secure against complaint, for it has got a pillow in the eye of the watchman (*i.e.*, people depend for the safety of their person and property on the king's watchmen).

With his sword the body of the enemies is cut into two; by his mace the breast is made a helmet for the heads (*i.e.*, his mace strikes so hard that the head sinks into the chest).

¹ **قبلة** : The house of God, *i.e.*, the Ka'ba, towards which people turn their faces while praying. Hence **قبلة** is a patron who is looked to by the people with profound reverence for the attainment of their objects.

² Another form of *Khusrau* (a King). It is an epithet given to Naushīrwān, the Just, but can equally be applied to any Persian King.

The mole of his beloved is used as mustard for his horse (to divert the effect of the evil eye), and for the strings of his noose they employ the veins of a devotee¹ (so that the noose may have much more attracting power in capturing enemies). The new moon is a slave² of his stirrups, and the sun one of his lance-bearers. His spear, when it uplifts its finger, makes rosary-beads out of the backbone of the enemy.

Wherever he leads his troops for an attack, the dust forms a barrier for the wind (*i.e.*, his army marches at such a tremendous pace that the dust left behind does not allow the wind to the pass through).

If he lights his face in enmity against the sky, he blinds the eye of the sun and the moon. A drop from his generosity fell in the ocean (hence it came to produce pearls); a perfume from his good disposition has got into the rose-bud (hence it sends forth its sweet scent). Things unheard-of are heard by him,³ as if ingenuity is created by him.

They (the agents of God) apprised him of hidden secrets and gave him the aptitude for reading signs on the forehead.

¹ **مجنوب** : Lit. : what is drawn, but technically refers to those who being attracted by Divine love, free themselves from the fetters of worldly concerns.

² **حلقه در گوش** : In Persia, in the past, it was the custom for slaves to wear rings in their ears so that they might be distinguished from the free people. Hence, it came to signify a 'slave.'

³ In this line if the word **نشیده** be taken in the active sense and not in the passive, meaning, 'curious' or 'strange' as is already done, the meaning would be : He knows things which he has not heard.

If his prayer be not subservient to the effect, the effect would run away from breath like a wild animal from a net. He sowed the seed of affection in the souls of men by that hand on every side of which there are a hundred heaps of hearts (*i.e.*, he has entirely captivated the hearts of his subjects). He in affection surpassed all lovers; love is abstract and his heart concrete. He is not only a support to *Love* but is also a place of hope for *Beauty* (*i.e.*, beauty and affection are both combined in him). The brain has become Tartary by the curl of his hair; to the eye the garden of his face is Spring (*i.e.*, the eye is refreshed by his face).

The sun spreads a net of rays on all sides so that it may entrap a ray of light from that face. Decorum is the first clerk in his court; Modesty bears a mirror before his forehead (*i. e.*, Modesty is constantly holding mirror to his face so that there be no chance whatsoever for the king to go astray, *viz.*, to lose his temper).

While looking from below at the palace of his exaltation, the head of the mighty wisdom rests on its back (*i. e.*, Wisdom despite its high position cannot know the height of his dignity).

All people are fascinated by his love; I guarantee that all lives are at his service. God has not made him look to the people for his wants; he gives us ranks for our own good.

He gives away the proceeds of a hundred seas and mines but cannot suffer a heart to slip away from his hand. The way (act) of sacrificing one's life at his feet befits one who has a world of lives in his lap (*i. e.*, the sacrifice of a single life for him is not proper, many lives are required for this purpose).

What an excellent Alexander with this perception of Plato, under whom wisdom and government grow together in each other's protection! What a charming *Parwēz*,¹ scatterer of tunes

¹ Lit: victorious. *پارویش* : name of the grand son of Nāushirwān.

like Barbud,¹ with the finger-tips of whose delight-increasing notes the ears of labour and grief are pulled and boxed ; with the fragrance of his good manners the jessamine has got *Khutans*² of musk-navels in its pocket and skirt ; and through the breeze of his kindness gardens of smiles are hidden below the lip of the bud (*i. e.*, the bud is ready to open with the breeze of his kindness). With the help of the chant of his praise, the faculty of speech lays claims to grace eloquence, and with the surplus income accruing from the contract of prayer for him, the palm of the oyster³ is full of the pearl of efficacy (*i. e.*, the oyster gets a pearl when it opens its hands to pray for him and not otherwise).

The decree of Destiny requires the authority of his signature⁴ for its enforcement ; the book of Fate needs the mark⁵ of his correct plan on the margin ; the breeze of the garden of Union is enjoined to open the bud of the heart, and the violent wind of the street of Disunion is forbidden to lay dust thereon.

The executioner of Death is in agreement with the police officer of his rage for the slaughter of the faithless and in the manufactory of his love the thread of life is interwoven with perpetual pleasure. The music of the instrument of justice graces the country, and the flame of the furnace of his chastising government melts away tyranny.

¹ Name of a famous Persian musician—a native of Jahrum, a town in the vicinity of Persipolis.

² Used figuratively signifying 'abundance' or 'plentifulness.'

³ The usual reading of the commentators is صدق 'truth,' which is a misprint for صدف 'an oyster.'

⁴ امضا : Royal signature for the enforcement of a decree.

⁵ بلغة : A mark put on the margin of a book when comparing it with some other copy to indicate the point reached.

The fury of his power breaks the strength in the lion's paw; his warfare throws Death itself into a pool of blood; his love deprives the deer of power of flight¹; his banquet bestows the cup of luxury upon Jamshīd; the water (edge) of his sword is a fire for the barn of Life; the wind of his arrow is a messenger of sudden death; his banner is the Cypress of the garden of victory and triumph; the back of exertion is made firm with the help of his kindness (*i. e.*, every one's labour is amply rewarded by the king). The fracture of Art is healed by the salve of his appreciation.; (*i. e.*, the non-appreciation of art has disappeared) the pearl is inferior to the sand of the desert in his sight; his promise is nearer fulfilment than waves to the river.

The cloud sheds pearls when compared with his palm which is like an ocean, and the sun brilliance by comparison with his shining cheek (*i. e.*, his face is brighter than the sun); the weight of a mountain measured with the heaviness of his forbearance proves as light as hay; the height of the *Sidra*² is like the lowness of grass when compared with the elevation of his dignity; discourse which for all its loftiness, had to bend itself at several places on account of the roof of the sky being too low for its flight, was filled with shame³ when it resolved to kiss the threshold of the palace of his praise.

¹ جام بر جم پيمر من : This is an idiomatic expression meaning 'to put Jamshīd in the back ground' *i. e.*, to surpass him in luxuries.

² A lote-tree in Paradise beyond which the angel Gabriel cannot fly. Here, topmost height. It is also called *سدرۃ المنتهى*.

³ سر بزر پا كھيند : To bring one's head on one's knees, *i. e.*, to acknowledge one's shortcoming or inferiority. This is an idiomatic expression used to indicate one's sheer helplessness.

To enumerate his virtues and to define his perfections is just like measuring the water of a river by *Kaīl* or counting the sand of the desert on fingers' ends.

To offer thanks for the grand gift of the comprehension of this eternity-bound age, of which people are proud and derive good therefrom, is obligatory and binding upon all, more specially upon the residents of the plain of the Deccan, who, having held an entertainment on every side and a festival in every direction by standing invitation, are reclining at the table of the taste of his presence and the table-cloth of comfort and delight. By the grace of Time the *Dāera*, which is the centre of the circle of principles of music, overflows with joy.¹ And with the strings of *qānūn*, which serve as the ruler for the book of songs (in order to keep its lines straight), an inscription of comfort is written on the pages of people's affairs.

The *tambūr* to prey upon our senses carries a noose of strings on its shoulder; the pipe for the revival of Mirth is engaged in blowing the trumpet (*i. e.*, just as the dead would

¹ مغز از پوست بدر چیدن : To be transported with joy.

Note. — The above passage in the original was taken to be in the passive voice, but if taken in the Active with *king* as its subject, the meaning would be : —

To favour the age he extracted the essence of *Dāera* which is the centre of the circle of the principles of music (*i. e.*, the instrument was a source of pleasure to the people before his time too, but now the model suggested by him and the songs composed to suit its special requirements, are by far the greater improvements on the instrument and cause eternal delight to the people, as if the essence of pleasure is extracted out of it).

and doors produce music. From the blending of melody in the air the feathers of birds are made into *Mūsīqār*.¹

The tongues of people are intoxicated with the wine of song; breaths are dancing hand in hand. The king of music with his book *Nauras* has brought silence to speech. If Nature was to make the elixir of mirth and cheerfulness, it would make it from the holy land of Bijāpūr.

If he sets his heart, as he should, on the ways of government and the rules of conquest, the dispositions of war and peace, and the nursing of determination and firmness, which are a verse of the Qur'an in his praise and a robe of honour for his body, it is no wonder. The wonder is that in every art and science such as music, calligraphy, and painting, of which the contemporary experts of the world having practised for years felt proud,² and after great efforts secured the Diploma of arts, he has with a little attention and in a short time lifted the banner of distinction in them, and caused no word of praise for him to be left on the tongues of the people. To call him an art-producing emperor is a fact. His skill in the art discloses the omnipotence of God; subtle wisdom is a slave³ of his painting-pen and the richly-coloured intellect serves as a shell-keeper⁴ in his drawing.

¹ A bird with its bill perforated with holes through which it emits musical notes.

² *کلاه شکستن*: Lit: to turn down the corner of one's cap and to wear it awry which is a sign of pride. *کلاه گوشه تاخار بر آسمان شکستن* is an idiomatic expression meaning 'to feel proud.'

³ *قلم بند*: Attached to the pen, i. e., a slave with implicit obedience to his master's will.

⁴ *صدفدار*: A servant who holds the inkpot of a painter who generally keeps his coloured inks in a shell, which serves as his inkpot.

He is busy in lighting the eyes of the blind by applying collyrium with the stick of his pen (*i. e.*, his writing lights the eyes of the illiterate.); he is Christ-like in the treatment of the incurable by feeling the pulse of the string of his tambour (*i. e.*, the sickly are cured by listening to the sound of his musical instrument). A letter of bondage to his newly-grown beard is in the arm-pit of the face of the beautiful (*i. e.*, the embellishment of the hair on the cheeks of the beloved is, as though, a letter of slavery which they are holding in obedience to his hair); the wire-box of his musical instrument is on the shoulder of the tresses of the curly-haired¹; before the amber-scented mandate of his pen, Mercury has no alternative but to acknowledge subjection.

On seeing the delicate beauty of his guitar, Venus cannot but come out from behind the curtain; his pen is the maid of the bride of the page of the world; his writing cancels the face of the sun (*i. e.*, the light of the sun is now superfluous on account of the lustre of the writings of the king.)

Masnawî.

The eye fosters collyrium at the sight of his writing, the ear wears a ring of slavery at the sound of his musical instrument. The sun swears by the glory of his crown, Venus joins the string of his guitar. When he takes up his pen for composition, Mercury trickles into his inkpot like a drop. To the bride of his page his writing is an ornament, although each of its letters is in itself a beloved. The dots on his letters are scattered like grain; who ever has seen a net so captivating to the sight! when he girt up his loins for the art of painting, he made a brush out of the ringlets of the

¹ The embellishment of the tresses of the loved ones is due to the fact that they have submitted to the wire-box of his musical instrument which they are carrying on their shoulders.

fairies and the virgins of paradise (and not from the tail of squirrels as is ordinarily the case). With painting he so adorned the face that his simplest drawing demanded the whole territory of China in reward for showing its face.¹ If he paints the picture of a nightingale, hear its sound, and listen, he also gives flight to sound (*i.e.*, he can depict sound itself). His (painted) bird would not rest on the page if he were not to put the net of his love on its foot. The spring season is one of the flower-pickers in his garden, its buds are opened by the slight stir of breeze. No one painted the picture of *reality* like him, yet he made no pretensions to be a prophet-like *Mānī*.² Tell Art to heap up smiles on the lip, and wipe away the tears of grief from the base of the eye-lashes. Tell the fosterers of Art to live honourably for the time of indifference has expired.

Whatever straitness³ was shown hitherto by Time in the curtailment of Art, his bountiful generosity stretched its hand to compensate it. The wishes of the Masters of Art through the ornament of his care, are the beloved of fulfilment (*i. e.*, they are amply rewarded); and from men of worth a point is accepted by him, as equivalent to a book, and a flower to a garden. No thorn in the path of Art ever pierced a man's foot, but he picked up gardens⁴ of flowers of his wishes from

¹ رونا : A present made to a bride by her husband's relatives when she first unveils herself before the assembly.

² A famous Persian painter, the founder of the sect of Manicheans.

³ مضائق : Reducing to straits; here means 'meagre appreciation.'

⁴ باغ باغ : An idiomatic expression used for 'plentifulness.'
Compare باغ باغ in the succeeding line.

the blossom of the King's favour; (*i. e.*, whoever took pains in the acquirement of Art, has his desires fulfilled by him) and no one tasted the bitterness of toil in the acquisition of perfection, but had Egypt's of sugar cast into his throat by the sweetness of his munificence, and in nothing was the excellence of Art hidden but his discernment openly fell in love with it. If by the stirring of wind, the ripples in the water produce any sort of lines, or curly smoke rises from the bright fire, he is quick to praise the latter (on account of his love for painting) and prompt to extoll the former (on account of his perfection in the art of calligraphy). Though by reason of his equity, he has given and gives the different kinds of arts their due, yet, praise be to God, how much he has devoted and devotes himself to poetry! What is not among the selections of his unerring judgment, is far from the ornament of recognition, and what is not tested by his shining genius, lies heavy on the heart on account of lightness. The most eloquent poets of the school of poetry are mere novices in his school of literature, and the brave cavaliers of the field of eloquence are the footmen of the plain of his subtle speech.

In his explanation a drop is the source of a fathomless river, and in brevity the brilliant sun is a grain of the west. The fame of the roll of his fluency is the pendant of the ear of eloquence (*i. e.*, his fluency is an ornament to eloquence), and the renown of his sweet speech, is the salt of the dining-table of beauty. The dot of the pen of his equivocation is a seal of the treasury of mysteries (*i. e.*, in every dot of his there are concealed a thousand topics or subjects). The brightness of the flame of his explanation is the polish of the mirror of expression (*i. e.*, the meaning is itself explained by his mode of description). The sweetness of his manner of expression sweetens the palate of discourse. The neck of the game of meaning is in the noose of his quick apprehension. The eye of the hope of lives is fixed on the motion of his lip which brings joyful tidings; and the proprie-

tary deed for the possession of hearts is in the palm of his moving eye-brow. His prose is the *Nasra*¹ of loftiness and his verse is the *Sirius*² of sublimity. Every letter of his is a chapter, and every branch a root (i.e., every letter of his composition contains as many topics as a chapter does).

Masnawī

The heart of speech was heavy with a mountain of sorrow for grief that it had no glorious master. It was a bride bereft of ornament and dress, and its lowly fortune had made it ashamed of itself. Now heaven kisses its feet and it is bedecked from head to foot like the neck and ear of a bride. As the Emperor's thought is very lofty the pearls of the box of the Pleiades³ have changed into rue seeds.⁴ The teachers have become the composers of song by being his pupils; tenderness has acquired elegance from his intellect. Sweetness has got its taste from his eloquence, and is getting a stipend of sweetness from his tongue. He so sweetens every letter of colocynth that sweetness is heaped up in one's ears. He utters the word '*hay*' with such weight and gravity that the mountain clamours out of jealousy. He never lets the word 'flower' enter his speech unless he gives it a hundred colours and smells. When he drinks the wine in the cup of fluency, he gives rise to a storm in a single

¹ A small star in the nose of the sign Leo, forming the eighth mansion of the Moon.

² Name of a bright star called the 'dog star.' Mark the suggestive association of the words : شعرش شعراي مرتبت

³ پروين : A collection of small stars appearing like a bunch of grapes, called the Pleiades.

⁴ سپند : Wild rue of which a fumigation against malignant eye is prepared.

drop. His composition gave praise a tongue (i. e., he so arranged his words that Praise itself began to sing in his praise); firmness became an instrument for this foundation. Discourse was freed from the care of maintaining its position; it got its right place owing to his organisation. If a critic once opens his eye he will see nothing but virtues.

And of the many obligations that he has imposed on men of wisdom and understanding, the one is that he engaged himself in the composition of the book *Nauras*, and honoured the faculty of speech and hearing by its being read and heard, and so arranged it that just as the freshness of meaning gives freshness to words, so the newness of the tunes that are associated with these verses, pearls be showered on them, knock the chain of effect on the door of hearts (i. e., produce effect); and with the air of the breath of singers wipe off the dust of old and new sorrows from the corners of the hearts of listeners.

Quatrain

The world is full of rejoicing on account of the King of the Deccan; the dust of grief is laid by the water of his song. The masters of song are his old pupils¹; one who has newly become his pupil has the style of a master-singer (i.e., it is not a wonder that his old pupils are Masters of Song the wonder is that even a novice has the air of an expert).

¹ If we do not take the word *شاه* as an adjective qualifying the noun *شاگردان* but take it as qualifying the noun *شاهان*, the meaning would be :

The master of old songs are his pupils (i.e., they no longer deserve to be called masters since their songs are now quite old and out of date. The suggestion is that a master is one who has modernised the style like the king to suit the requirements of the latest taste.

The reason why the book is called by this name is that the Indians call a mixture of nine juices 'Nauras,' and if the Persians believe it to be the fresh fruit of the tree of his learning and perfection, it is appropriate; and in this sense also that this beloved of perfect beauty has newly appeared on the stage of existence from behind the curtain of invisibility, if it is called *Nauras* it is also right.

· *Hemistich*

Just think of the quality of the book from this name.

The landscape of sight is a flower-garden from its pages and the blunt aptitude¹ for reading is brightened by its whiteness; every page is a garden and every line a tree whose leaf is its heart-enchancing word, and whose fruit is its unalloyed meaning; the nightingale of eloquence is singing on the flower of the elegance of his writing, and the sight of the spectators is enchained by the current of the freshness of his flowing style. The hyacinth of its letters comes from the sigh of impatient lovers; the violet of its dots is from the mole of the beloved.

From the moisture of the freshness of its words, the canal of life overflows with Nectar. *Khizr* is thirsty for the moisture of its style; the *Messiah* dies for its life-giving breath; its felicitous significations are like unopened buds (i.e., just as smell is hidden in the bud, so also is elegance concealed in *Nauras*). The paint of its composition gives the beauty of the anemone and its freshness is full of sweetness.

Masnawī

The flower seeks rouge from its colour; from its moisture wine takes lustre. Do not call it *Nauras*, it is the lofty

¹ سواد: 'Blackness (here, dulness), as opposed to بياض meaning 'whiteness' (here, brightness).

Paradise; not only people say so but *Rixwan*¹ too is of the same opinion. He alone can plant a garden like this who can gather roses from the fire like Abraham,² the Friend of God. The writings of Nauras came from the just and learned King to redress the complaint of breaths (*i.e.*, till before this, breath was good for nothing and uselessly spent, but now on account of the songs of *Nuaras* it came to have a value of its own, being employed in music). With his genius at his command and his self in obedience to God's Decree, he made words the body and melody the soul. What a charm he concealed in melody that the passage for fading is blocked on freshness (*i.e.*, the pleasure gained by listening to his tunes has a lasting effect on one's mind). He gave a glow of light to the brilliant sun and a precious new robe to newness. Speech was so conscious of its loftiness and glory that it built its palace in the Emperor's castle. If we touch the edge of a leaf with the finger, every page will begin to tell a hundred tales (*i.e.*, the book contains hundreds of valuable points which become apparent when a man turns its leaves). Its lines are made of the thread of sound; its leaves are the films of a musical instrument. The letters on the pages all back one another so that none dare find fault with any of them. Tell newness to grow freely for the Nauras has trampled down oldness. May God grant it the garment of recognition and protect it from every absurd criticism.

Since the royal favours and imperial gifts are common to all distant and near, he did not choose to deprive the

¹ Title of the main gate-keeper of Paradise.

² (چند) چوں خلیل از نار گذار : Refers to the incident of the Prophet Abraham being thrown into the fire by Nimrod and to the miracle of its suddenly turning into a flower-garden.

residents of 'Iraq and Khurāsān of its taste, and wished that the book should be translated into Persian so that the Persians too by grasping its meaning may every day have a Naurūz¹ there. A royal decree imposing obedience received the honour of issue that those who stand at the foot of the throne, which is the seat of royalty and the semblance of the throne of God, should, after testing the cash of their ability and intellect on the touch-stone of examination, prepare a commentary brief in words but detailed in meaning, and also with elucidations of some of its technicalities² (so as to save the translation from getting too lengthy).

Although in seeking distinction great labour had been spent on minute points, yet when the commentary was read, even the un-erring whose page of composition was never familiar with the erasing-knife and altering-pen, washed off every line and every page with the sweat of shame owing to his alterations in words, changes in constructions, appropriate amendments and clearer expressions; and having written whatever they heard from his miraculously eloquent tongue, they regarded themselves to be mere instruments of writing like the pen. To be brief the grandeur of the text is due to his all-pervading knowledge, and the clearness of the commentary to his lucid style of expression.

Qit'a

All men learn good manners and niceties from him, whether they be 'Irāqīs or Khurāsānīs. Where is Plato that he may

¹ New Year's day, i.e., the day on which the sun enters Aries, initiating a week of general festivity and merry-making in Persia.

² If read as *ḥawāṣi* (marginal notes) and not as *ḥawāṣi* (restrictions), the meaning would be :

They should also elucidate the technical terms occurring in the book.

with all his wisdom bend his knees to take lessons from him.

That he himself has not attended to the writing of the preface has several advantages and objects. Yes, to frustrate the damaging effect of the evil eye, the association of a worthless stone with a chain of precious pearls is indispensable, and for the thriving of a garden, weeds and thorns are necessary. To keep camphor by the side of pitch and to eat sugar after colocynth is wisdom; and verily the writing of the preface also originates from the benefit of his instructions, as he has repeatedly said that an author must first weigh his words, for there are many a construction to and from which, though not a word is added or subtracted, yet the meaning sits with fresh glory on the chair of Word by a slight alteration. And he has commanded to pick up the stones of hard words from off the path of Discourse so that the foot of the horse of description may not receive any injury. He has forbidden us to use words to which the hand and foot of the faculty of understanding may not find a way owing to their subtlety and equivocation. Examples of this sort have been frequently heard from him. Through his bright intellect, the mind of his pupil is made clear and the ring of pupilage is an ornament to the ear of the just. To be brief, if the present of a flower is made to Spring, it is only (to give back what comes) from the king of seasons, and if a pearl is offered to the parent sea, it springs only from the sea.

Couplet

In accomplishment, O wisdom ! see his width, Lo ! a sea is less than a drop before him.

As the quality of being in want of nothing is the sole attribute of God, so also the Emperor, who is a shadow of God, has no want, but for the companions, whom he may give the wine of discourse and the sweet of melody in proportion to their taste and capacities, and talk to them in different ways

suited their ability. How admirable is the taste of that quick-witted man who, by listening to his intricate points, is able to understand them; and how happy that light-hearted being is, the bird of whose heart, with its gay feathers, may sit and sing on the twigs of delicate songs. How difficult it is for a learned speaker to adapt himself to a hearer of lesser understanding, and to bring down of necessity a discourse of elevated order from its high position. The case of the abovementioned speaker is like that of a jeweller and a painter, wherein the one, to break the valuable gem, hardens his heart, so that a poor customer may be able to purchase the same; and the other reduces the speed of his brush of delicate drawing, so that a spectator of dull sight can afford to look at it. As the pages of the hearts of high and low are under the influence of the pen of doubt,¹ those who have not adorned the path of sight and hearing with a look at the King's Paradise-like court, and have not regarded this assembly as *'Id* and *Nauroz* for their eyes and ears, nor seen wisdom embodied, nor picked up the gems of his miraculous composition in the casket of the ear of sense, imagine that this enlogium too, is the same as that of other enlogizers who in extolling their object of praise are all exaggeration, and know their drop to be the source of an ocean, and their atom the rising place of the sun. Though the truthfulness of Zuhūr's word is evident, yet to remove this doubt he takes an oath. By the Painter Who with the hyacinth of the downy hair on the cheek of the beloved permitted musk to grow over Narcissus, and by the Player Who with the key of song threw open the door of obligation to the audience, I swear that the length of the volume of his praise is not within the power of the pen of any expert writer, and the pitch of the harp of his attributes cannot be contained

¹ *I.e.*, people are generally suspicious of eulogisers.

in the breath of any blessed being. May all with the aid of Fortune have the honour of kissing his carpet so that each, having had the pleasure of receiving a share of reward in proportion to his genius and intellect, may be convinced of the truth and the integrity of my word. In connection with this prayer it struck me that since prolixity is not consonant with respectfulness, the song of the concluding prayer was, therefore, proper for my breath which is influenced by the efficacy of his favour.

Sentences of prayer.—As long [as from the goblet of the tambour of the sun, the wires of the rays shine out, may the breeze of song continue to blow from the garden of my master's assembly and as long as on the guitar of speech, the chord of human breath is played by the plectrum of the tongue,¹ so long may the song of the praise of his rule be a store for the mouth and tongue of the populace.

Qit'a.

So long as the words 'Chang' and 'Qumūn' are used in a twofold sense by poets in the assembly of speech, may the claws of the hawk of his prosperity be ever red with the blood of the prey of conquest, and the wire of the Chang of his happiness be secure from breaking. May the song of the musical instrument of the world be in consonance with the tunes of his praise; may the laws and customs of the world be in conformity with his wishes.

Hemistich.

May many obligations be placed upon acceptance by these prayers (i.e., acceptance should feel obliged to my prayers).

¹ باد... تا بر قانوں سخن... i. e., the praise of the king be on the tongues of people so long as they are able to speak.

غزل

کعبه اهل دل ابراهیم باد	قبله نه چرخ و مهفت اقلیم باد
از مهر نوپشت دست بر زمین	پیش قدرش چرخ در تسلیم باد
همتش ترکیب لفظ کم نخواست	کاف سرکش را احتلاطیم باد
نفی تخصیص از سخاوتش ثابت است	نیک و بد را مزه تعلیم باد
تا پذیرد عیش و عشرت انقسام	عیشهای عالمش تقسیم باد
تا بیکتا جمله را امید هست	حاشدش دل و نیم از نیم باد
عقل کل در مزرع استادیش	خوشه چین خرمن تعلیم باد
داستان شد ختم بتان رخسار	غیرت گلزار ابراهیم باد



اگر بشرِ عشرتِ غربت پردازم خلق را از وطن برمی آرم و تاب این شکم
ندارم و اگر ازین حرف زبان می بندم بر غفلت بعضی آشنایان و دور ماندگان
می ترسم و این قدر بیرحم هم نیستم **مثنوی**

مسکین عیش و عشرت است و کن لب بغربت فتد ز حرف وطن

نیست از صبح روز وصل عجیب خنده بر انشراحِ شامِ غریب

نغمه های غریب ریخت ز ساز هست از سحر غریب نواز

در سخن بر کشید مغرز پوست لفظ و معنی غریب دارد و دست

رفتن از کوه او نصیب میاد بهیچکس در وطن غریب میاد

معنی صورت و فاد و فاق زهر بار محبتش تر یا ق

صیت خود را که سر بکشور داد بهر تسخیر هر همنسرو ر دار

قسم جان به زندگانی او کو جز او کس بمهر باقی او

نامه در خواندن هنر پایان فصل و ر آتش السجّل گویان

اگر عذر در از نفسی گفته شود کوتاهی باشد - این مدح و ثنا

دیگران نیست که عذر تطویل کلام باید گفت و تجلّت اطناب باید

کشید - سامع در سعادتی نیفتاده که در شکر گذاری ناطق نبایش شد

و از شادابی گفتن تشنگی شنیدن هنوز می فهمم - اما چون آخر سکوت عجز

مهر دبان سخن خواهد بود و ما هم احرام کعبه اقامت بسته - مصرع

گواجا بت لب به آمین باز کن

کہ بیدیل و انبازاست و معرّش رازانو بزانوے اصل و سحرش دوش ہوش
 احمجاز۔ آرسے زورِ شناوری قطرہ بازوے موج دریاست و روشنائی ذرہ
 بہر تو خورشیدِ جہان آرا۔ باوجودِ شغل ملک گیری و رعایتِ احوالِ رعایا و لشکر
 بارِ جلالت گردئی یعنی استادِ عالم برگردن گرفتن و زحمّتِ تربیت شاگردان
 کشیدن غرضِ انفعالات و مرحمت است ہم مخلوق و روزگار و ہم بہارِ باب
 استعداد کہ قابلیتِ انہا ضایع نماند و اینہا بہ حظِ وافی بہرہ مند گردند تا شفقت
 و عطوفت را این پایہ نباشد بہ تختِ بادشاہی برآمدن دست نہ بد و تادرت رحم
 و مہربانی دریا نشود گوہر دارائی و فرمانروائی بکف نیفتد۔ تفوقی پادشاہان
 مہربانی و شفقت است نہ بعض و طولی ملکیت۔ مصرع

شہنشاہ تر ہر آنکو مہربان تر

مرحتش بر رخ ہر کہ خندید دیگر گریہ بہ زخس بساطِ اشک پنجید۔ طفلیک سرِ گشت
 مہربانیش کمید لبش گزندہ پستانِ مادر نگردید۔ بتقریبِ حرفِ مہربانی از
 نقلِ ہمربانی کہ سندِ افتخار و جلالِ اعتبار این خاکسارِ نیمقدار است قلمِ تحریر
 زبانے دارد۔ از انہا کہ عمر را با غور گفتگو نیست و تھے در کیے گاہ فرصتِ معروض شد
 کہ محرومیِ سعادتِ بساطِ بوسی چون تحملِ بے صبران از حد گذشت و بارِ تنہائی
 بر دوشِ سبک و مان خوش گران است بعبارتے نکمین تراز شوہرِ محبت فرمود
 اگر تنہامی بودی چنین بودی۔ چون شریک داری میتوان ساخت۔

کے چه سازد۔ ہیئت

یکمیت جان و درو صمد ہزار نیکی است زبانِ فصول چه سازم بگفتگوے نیاز
 (۱۲)

تکلف نیست و این طور سخنان تکلفی درخور برداشت و دریافت حوصله‌ماست
و گرنه معنی‌ش گران تر است که باریکی برگردن توانایان سخن نهد - ارباب
استعداد را صحبت کتابخانه که مکان فیض الهی است و کتبخانه استادان
معنی اعیان شاگردان اعلیٰ حضرت ظل الهی روزی باد - بتخصیص آنجا که
همه جارحایت و مناسبت مریدیت دیوان عدل و داد در ایوان و مجلس
میش و نشاط و زبستان می دارند و دیوان داری جو و سخا و خزان و غور
رسی فضل و هنر در کتابخانه مقرر است - فی الحقیقه غائب شدگانے که
مغرور خود را در پوست کشیده کتاب نام نهاده تنگ در هم نشسته اند یعنی از
حاضران و مستفیدان اند - تعلیماتے که در باب شعر و شاعری شنیده شد
از پاس اقصائے مقام و متانت بنائے کلام و انشراح و افتتاح و التیام
و اختتام و تفصیل و توضیح و اجمال و ابهام و سنجیدگی عبارت و شوخی اشارت
و حشمت معنی و وجودت لفظ و چسپانی ربط و تنگ و رزی حروف و کرسی نشینی
ترکیب و بست قافیہ و نشست ردیف و تلاش کیفیت و صافی سینه و پاکی
زبان و عرق ریزی سعی و سحر خیزی خواب و زاری حصول و دریوزه گری
قبول و امثال اینها در خطبہ کتاب نورس که کمن سراے جهان از و
پُر آوازه است مرقوم گردیده - للہ الحمد کہ باین تعلیماتش در پیرائے سری
بترقیات جوانی می نازم و باشه سواران این فن بعنان می تازم - و چه
ترقی ازین زیاده خواهد بود کہ آفتاب تربیتش پر تو ما طهنت انداخته
خفائی را ظهوری ساخته و در غل پیراے گلزار ابراهیم انبار ملک الکلامی است

تلخ شنو - عفوکار - جرم درو - وطن در دل غریبان ساز - تواضع زیب -
 غرور پرداز - دل در عنان صبر از پی دوان - از همه برکنار - با همه در میان -
 یوسف رخ - حسن پناه - ابراهیم نام - کعبه در گاه - که از روز ازل در دیوان
 دیش الهی در پیچ چیز با او تقصیرے زفته و بهر چه دلپذیر و خاطر خواه او بود
 قلم تقدیر بران رفته - سال و ماه عمر ابد پیوندش در سیر خیابان عشره
 سوم و غلغلہ فضایل و کمالاتش در مغز ساکنان سپهر هفتم - کافر نعمت
 آنانکه بر خوان هنر به استادیش ایمان نیارند و تحم شکر شاگردیش در زمین
 کام و زبان نہ کارند - زبان شکر خود کراست - بزدل زروسیم هیا ننگ
 هنروران سنگین و به بخشیدن معنی و مضامین دیوانہاے شاعران عظیم
 به اظهار یکد و معنی از جمله معانی انعامی که در جریدہ اشعار این شاعران
 ثبت است اشعارے میرود - روزے در تعریف یوز فرہ و مذمت اسپ
 لاغر شعرے چند گوش گذار استادگان مجلس بهشت نشان می شد -
 شاید که در خاطر ہم گذشته باشد که طبیعت عالی بکاہلی از خود راضی نشده
 والا خیال را قریبی و فکر را صید افکنی هست - این معنی را غیر ست
 فراستش در یافتہ قریب بست و سی معنی و تشبیه به رساترین ادا بیان
 رفت - یکے آنکہ اگر یوز را به زنجیر رگ و پے صدا جا به گلیخ داغها بندند
 بیم است کہ بجلدی از جلد بیرون جلد دیگر اینکه ضعف و ناتوانی این
 اسپ بغایتے است کہ هنگام تصویرش ہر گاہ بر قلم بغزینی دست دہد او
 از پا در افتادہ گروہ وار بر زمین نقش بندد - قسم به راستی کہ درین غمان

طرانہ سازی جرم زہرہ بگل تسلیم تا گردی در تارک آرائی و در صفحہ رقم طرازی
 صفر عطار در باب نقطہ امتحان قلم مرتبہ افزائی - بلبس اگر بنجات نقش او
 نفس بر آمیزد کمن ترانہ خود را با حرفت برگ گل از منقار بیرون ریزد -
 بشہد فصاحت چاشنی بلاغت در کام و زبان انپاشتہ و بکلید طلاقت
 قفل لکنت از در بیان برداشتہ - بروشنی بیانش شام طبعان در صبح
 طرازی و بر سائی ادایش کوتاہ در کان در زبان درازی - دسترس
 معانی سرہ کجاست فطرتش بر طاق بلند نہادہ و قدرت خریداری الفاظ
 سنجیدہ کراست فصاحتش بہ بیجاگی قیمت دادہ - عبارت را پاک لولوی
 مدن - الفاظ را نوئی فیروزہ کمن - ابیات

از خوے سعی جہمہ ساختہ تر	تا بجا ماند آبروے ہنر
زیر خالص سخن بدولت او	فکر مہس کیمیای طبیعت او
عقل را آورد برون زخار	جام لفظش بمعنی سرشار
ماجت فکر با از دست روا	منع شان کرد از اختلاط خطا
پر بہا گوہر یست ہر سخنش	گوش بہنادہ چشم بر ہوش
چرخ پست از علو گفتارش	شعری از نقطہ اے اشعارش
بہ ادایش ادا رسید نہا	ماشوق گفتنش شنید نہا
کہ جزا زد بہ نام استادی	کوس شاہی بیام استادی
زہے شہر یار مادل کا مگار کامل - موم دل - آہنیں پیمان مینسک -	
عطاگران - کوہ وقار - کاه نقار - دل رام کن - خاطر شکا - شیرین گو -	

تند بارانِ سحابِ پیمانش را حبابِ سندان و سوبانِ قضا بخامدین
 زنجیرِ عمدش کند و ندان - از تصویرِ نازکیش نسترن در روضا ختن و از
 تعقلِ بردباریش کوه در کمر با ختن - با طایستِ خوسے خوشش حریر بر سمن
 خشن و بارانِ گلزارِ خلقتش شمیمِ ختنِ عفن - پیشانی در کشادگیِ عزمه خا
 گوشه نشینان - نگاہے در پاکی پرده چشمِ خدا بینان - ابیات
 نمکِ عمرِ شہدِ مرمتش نشہ جوئیت بحرِ کرمش
 چشم بر افکشِ نوازش را جلوہ از قاش طرازش را
 مہرِ سطرے ز صفو کینش کوه کاہے ز سنگِ تکینش
 گر سخناہے تلخ ز ہر آگین بگذر و بر لبش شود شیرین
 چرب و نرمیش گر سخن راند مغر را ز استخوانِ کہ می داند
 در جہان نیست آن نشاط و ظل کہ کشد خجلت از تغیرِ حال
 بشکند آسمان و ایوانش نشکند طاقِ عہد و پیمانش
 ساخت کار آن کسے کہ با وساحتِ بر دور عشقش آنکہ خود را با
 آنکہ رخسارِ او ندید چہ دید و آنکہ نشنید از سخن چہ شنید

نہم - توفیقِ کسبِ فضایل و کمالات

باندازہ طبع و قادش بلند آسمان کوتاہ اوج و با غور و فکرِ نقادش
 زرف دریا تنگ موج - بمعجزِ نعمناہے داؤدی موم کنندہ دہانے آمین
 و بر رطوبتِ ترانہاے باربدی از مغزِ زہد بہ سوتِ چین - در گلشن

عشرستان جرعه خوار جام جمشیدیش و ماه طلعان در زیر دام خورشیدیش -
مثنوی

دیده خورشید زار از رویش	سنبستان مشام از مویش
دست بردل ز طلعتش خوبی	پای در گل ز قامتش طوبی
عارضش نو بہار بارغ ارم	دارغ پروانگی چرخِ حرم
کرد آئینہ را تجلی خیزد	از مہ و مہر ساختش لہریز
گوہر عشق را دلش مخزن	دانہ حسن را رخس خرم
این تصرف نہ مہر داشت نہ ما	ہر نگاہیکہ رفت داشت نگاہ
درد دل دہر ان تصرف ازو	عشق یعقوب و حسن یوسف ازو
پیش رویش بہشت ساختہ	حبذا خوی صاحب این خو
مئے مہرش حصار ہوشم باد	ساغر مہ خوش پرست نوشم باد

ہشتم - سیرت پسندیدہ و اطوار برگزیدہ

صاحب خلق و کمال جامع صفات جلال و جمال بطالعہ تالیف الفتش
 بیگانگان شارب متن آشنائی - و بر جادہ پیروی پیشرویش خضر تشنہ
 وادی رہنمائی - آب سحاب تدبیرش نشانندہ غبار لجاج و عناد و ہم رویا
 نندہ نہال صلاح و سداد - ریزہ خواری خوان ہمتش اکسیر نعمت سیر چمنی
 و چاشنی گیری شہد رافتش مورث لذت دیر خشنی - بکلوہ ماہچہ راے
 منیرش نور در دیدہ ہا انبار و بسر پنچہ شعلہ ضمیرش گلوی آفتاب در فشا -

ابیات

چون قضا و قدر جو نوشت
 بر کف او برات جو نوشت
 کف او قلم ست وجود سحاب
 کشت امید عالمی سیراب
 لا فدا پیشش از پری دریا
 پوچ گرد و درش جباب آسا
 وعده اوشه و وفا پشش
 انتظارے بگشته تکیه گش
 ماه در زیر سکه شاهی
 در درم غرق کیسه ماهی
 همه سی آفتاب اکسیری
 پیش جودش هنو تقصیری
 سلطان بر سوال لب نه نند
 دو جهان را بیک طلب بدند
 کمترین بذل ملک شهر دود است
 نقد صد گنج صرف یک بد است
 کارے افتاد ابر نیمان را
 دیدہ آن دست گوهر افشان را

ہفتم۔ صورت زیبا و طلعت جہان آرا

حسیکہ از ابراہیم علیہ السلام ہیوسف میراث رسیدہ بود تا غایت
 در تنق غیب و دیعت ماندہ - اکنون روزگار امانت سپار باز تسلیم
 ابراہیم نمود - اہل نظر بینا یا نیکہ چشم بتا شائش گزارند و ارباب
 محبت پیدلا نیکہ دل بتولایش سپارند - جہہ بدنشانی مشعل وادی کلیم
 مارضے بشگفتگی گلزار ابراہیم - ہر افسانہ قافش خواہا ہمہ نہال و
 بحکایت خرامش نفسہا ہمہ پا مال - در عشر تکدہ محبتش دلہا
 حزنین بیغم و در بہارستان طلعش نگہ ہاے پژمردہ پر نیم - پر ویز

تا ظفر نامہا کنند رقم چہ قلمہاے دست کردہ قلم
 آرزو ہاے نصیم کشتہ بہین ہیچکس تیغ کین نرا نہ چنن
 می چکاند بہ بزم و رزم مدام ساغرش زہرہ خنجرش بہرام
 بیشہ رزم باغ دبستانش مہر شیر خداے نختانش

ششم - سخاوت

کہ کشادگی کفش تنگی در جہان نگذاشته آلا در دل بدان و دہان خواب۔
 پردہ ہائیکہ از روے عیبہا بر کشیدہ بر چشم بد بینان بستہ و قفلہا کہ از
 در گنجہا برداشتہ - بردہاں سخن چینان گذاشتہ - ہیچکس از والا ہمتان
 تشریف عطاے چنان نہ وختہ کہ دستہ بر آن دراز نہ شود و ہیچکدام از
 مایدہ گستران دیگ سخاے چنان نہ بختہ کہ حر فکیر ی حامی زبان زو
 طعنہ نگرود - طمع از وارستگان یاس ہنگام سوال - فلک از ماہ و
 خور لوالہ خور خوان لوال - کوتاہ داستان بلند سودا پنجہ شب خواب
 بینند صبح از تعبیر باغ سخایش گل مراد چینند - بہ نسیم ہمیش گلہاے
 شگفتہ از شاخ میر وید تا غنچہ بر خوردہ خود مشت نیفشارد - در تیر
 باران فاقہ زر بسپرمی بر نہتا از گرائی عطا شاہین میزان صورت لا
 بر نیارد - آرزو ہا ہمہ در بر کشیدہ حصول - براتہا ہمہ سلم خریدہ وصول
 جوہری سحاب غرق عرق گوہر بر زیش واکسیری آفتاب گرم تلاش زر بخشیش -
 اگر دریاست بجا کہ نشانہ اوست و اگر کالست بہ آب رساندہ او -

عقل را سیرگاه دیوانش عدل را عهده گاه ایوانش
روشن طرز عدل و داد داشت همه شاگرد او ستاد اینست
بار ناموس خلق برگردن ده چه زیباست کار حق کردن

پنجم - شجاعت

بحديث نیروی بازویش حکایت سر پنجه شیر زبان در کام و زبان
مردم شکسته و برآمده صفت رزمش گوش از استماع داستان مفتحان ستم
سیر نشسته - نیاز و توانادم تیغش بر تارک گردون شکافت انداز و شست
صاف نوک پیکانش در پشت قاف ناف ساز - نهیبش اگر در خواب بر عدو
شبحون بر و عجب که در بیداری سر از آن ورطه بیرون برد - انداز کند شیر
بندش از کند طره سلسله مویان تاب برده و دشنه آتش بخون اعدایش
باتج غمزه خوبان در یک کار خانه آب خورده - زخمهای کاری به پلارک
ماشوق تارک بود بیت سپرده و در تقسیم غنائیم تهو و جرأت غنیمان را
فنیست شمرده - مثنوی

آورد در و غاز کاسه سر بسر انگشت چشم شیر بندر
ظفر از تیغ اوست قصه طراز نیست بر دین زبان کفر دراز
زخم ریزد چو خنجرش بر هم اجل از دست افکند مرهم
چون بزه کرد آشنا سو فار شبه سفت است دل شب تا
از کانش بنخسته تیر خطا قبضه از دست او گرفته قضا

چہارم - عدالت

کہ بصفت نصف بعالم طش ساختہ و گوش تند یکن را بعد اسے
 کوس عدالتش نواخته۔ بہ پیاڈ انصافش در وہم صاف و دعوائے مالیت
 از ہر کہ غیر دوست گزاف۔ اگرچہ پیش ازین نوشیروان ممتاز از ان لقب
 والا رہت بود آن سراب این محیط و آن مجاز این حقیقت۔ نیسے کہ از صفت
 عدل او نوزیدہ در باغ و بوستان گلے برویش نغندیدہ و صبحے کہ از مشرق
 انصاف او ندمیدہ پر تو صادقش بہ آفاق نرسیدہ۔ اگر کتاب نیک کتابے
 بگسلد ماہ طیانچہ خور کلفت است و اگر حرف ستم نفس زدہ کے گرد و زبان
 ناطقہ در معرض تلف۔ تندیلے سست گیا ہے را از جا نکند کہ حلقہ
 اندیشہ غضبش ابر را از ہزار جامغر نشکند۔ بیا زاہد کر متش گوشیں
 آزادگان در حلقہ بیع و بسا بہ معدلتش کشت بے حاصلان در اجارہ
 ریح۔ در کشور عمل کردہ مذمتیان ہمہ تحسین و آفرین و بلرزہ فروشان
 بازار عریانی معاملہ دے جلد فرودین مشغولی

غلغل کوس عدل از ہاش	مئے عشرت مدام در ہاش
دین قوی پنجہ زوہار و عدل	عدل ز انصاف او تر از و عدل
باور اہل کنندہ در گلزار	گر خور و صدمہ برگ نخل از خار
در زخارے غلیہ تی زدہ سر	کرد راہ و گریز نامیہ سر
در بختلے دو چار گشتہ خزان	کردہ رم چون حرارت از آبان
شیر در مہر بردہ یسیدن	گرگ در خون خویش خیسیدن

سجده بجا آرند - گرد سجد و درگاهش که بر پیشانی نشانید که از فرقی فرقدان
ساییش فرکلاه کیانی ندید - هر که آبادش خواست خود را خراب ساخت
و آنکه نرد و فایش بباخت دین و دنیا در پست - تا بر نیسان بهوایش نبارد
گوهر آب شاهواری بر ندارد - کسین بنده همین قدرش بپایه بوسی سرید
عرش نظیرش در پاپه میری و سلطانی و کمترین چاکر فلک چاکر شش
در خوان گستری نوازش مالی مخاطب بشاهنواز خانی - در بزمگاه عشر
جمشید را مشرب جرعه خواری - بر درگاه همتش حاتم را منصبی قائم داری -
قضا بکمان تدبیرش قدر انداز و الهام بسرگوشی ضمیرش
سرفراز - مثنوی

شوکتش گر در آمدی بکمان	خلق شدی چنبر زمین و زمان
هشت جنت محله زبتانش	هفت دریا نغز زعانش
نگر حلم کرده سنگینش	کوه را گو نشانده تنگینش
پر شد از حرف شتمش و هتم	حبذاشان و شوکت سختم
ور شنایش زار جمند یها	میکند کو حق بلند یها
فخر گردون بجاست اقبالست	خاک را هست نسبتش مالست
نه همین شاه کشورش خوانند	در همه چیز سرورش دانند
نه بجایش عدیل نه به هنر	صد فلاتون هزار اسکندر
چرخ گردون کدام صبح داند	که برویش وان بکاوند خواند

ایمان خارا بنیان و بدست یاری تربیتش درگاه محکمہ علیہ دارا و ربان - سچل گردید
گماشتگان شهر و دیار بہر امضای قاضیان قضا قدرت در تزیین و در محفل
تربیت و آئین امثال شکنان مسند شریعت بر فرامین و احکام بادشاہی
مقدم نشین - در تردد شارع شرع گرد تعصب از دامان جد و جہد نشانده و
محبت ہر یک از مفرمان در گاہ را در محفل دل الہام منزل بجای خود نشانده -
دلیل محبت پیشرویش پیروی اصحاب کبار و برہان پاکی طینتش محبت
ائمہ اطہار - مشغولی

صرف نیکان ہمہ تو لایس	بر بدان ضربت تبرائیش
نخل بدعت نشانگان بے بر	تن سریر گزندگان بے سر
کرد از ہم جدا حق و باطل	دو جان مزرعیست او حاصل
نفس سرکش ز زیر دستناش	در پرستش خدا پرستانش
عنف از رفتش مدارائی	حلقہ در گوش شرع دارائی
نظم ہر کار و بار بر شرع است	کفر را ہم مدار بر شرع است
گزر دار القضا نشان آرند	آسمان را کشان کشان آرند
تا نبارد سحاب کجاء شرع	لب تفسیدہ تر نسا زرع
چون نوزد غرور باعدا	غزہ کردش شریعت غر - ا

سوم - شان و شوکت و جاہ و حشمت

باید کہ بلند تلاشان سایہ دار سر بریزد یا نهند تا در آستان زمین آسانش

ذمہ نیست کہ صداعش صندل چارہ از پیشانی برہنان نہر۔ از صدمہ توحید
 دہائی در یکی گریختہ و بلا تو تجریدش خودی در قوی آویختہ۔ گوشے حق شنو
 چٹنے حق بین دے حق جو خاطرے عرفان زاسینہ معرفت خیر تار کے آسمان سا
 جہمہ سجدہ ریز۔ مثنوی

پاسے رفعت بر آسمان وارد	سر خدمت بر آستان دارد
در عبادت بگفتن و دیدن	طرز او طرز حق پرستیدن
خلوت دیگران و صحبت او	وحدت این و آن و کثرت او
در دلش این و آن نمی گنجد	ہیچ جز حق دران نمی گنجد
بُت شکن گشت چون غلیل نیست	باویش ارزانی اعتقاد درست
کفر در فکر نکست عرفان	شرک در فکر نعمت ایمان
طینتش باج خواہ طینتہا	نیتش باو شاہ نیتہا
در عبادت زہے تنومندی	بندگی در خوہر حسداوندی
سر وحدت بمغز برداز پوست	ہمہ او کرد خویش اہمہ است

دوم

سعادت اطاعت شریعت غراسے مصطفوی و دولت افراتشن
 لواے و لاسے مرقضوی۔ بہ پیرایہ اجہادش رونق بر شرع مفتون و بدرستی
 اعتقادش کار ملت از شکست مصون۔ بہ قبول امرش دست معروفاں
 بر سر و بہ رنہ نہیں زخم مُنکران مُنکر۔ فرق دین آسودہ سایہ صاب کلاہش
 و شور و رواج ملت نمک ماندہ شہنشاہیش۔ بہامردی تقویتش پابست کاخ
 (۲)

نثر دوم مسنی بہ

گلزار ابراہیم

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

نثر می چین سخن بطراوتِ مہربان پیرائست کہ گلزار ابراہیم در رخسار
یوسف طلعتانِ نمرود نخوت رسانیدہ و تاجدارِ لفظ و معنی بہ حشمتِ شتاب
تارک آرائست کہ ستمی خلیلِ خود یعنی ابراہیم عادل شاہ را در ہفت استلیم
بہ نہ صفت یگانہ و ممتاز گردانیدہ۔

اول۔ معرفت

کہ با وجودِ کثرت در مشاہدہ شاہد وحدت معنی کلام معجز نظام
لو کشف الغطاء لما از دوت یقینا وصفتِ مال او ساختہ۔ گلستانِ نیت
دہستانِ عقیدتِش از خس و خاشاکِ شک و شبہ پر داختہ۔ مجموعہ عرفان
مومنانِ فردے از دفترِ شناسائیش۔ عنف و اشتہامِ ماسوا پسندیدہ طبعِ مواسا
بتوضیحِ بیانش نشانہاے بے نشان ہمہ دل نشین و خاطر نشان۔ بہ آفتابِ جاگز
تاکیدِ نظر برد و پیمانِ نیندافتن و بہ مصوٰر قضا تہدید باحوالِ احوالانِ نپردا
زنار را با سحرِ نہ پیوند نیست کہ سختش بر کشاکشِ کیشانشان نغندد و کفر را با ایمان

APPENDIX B

Part II.—“*Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*”

OR

The Rose-Garden of Abraham

APPENDIX B

II

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE AND THE MERCIFUL

THE SECOND PREFACE

THE ROSE-GARDEN OF ABRAHAM

The cheerfulness¹ of the garden of discourse is due to the moisture of the praise of the Embellisher of Spring who has produced the fiery glow of the garden of Abraham² on the cheeks of the Joseph-countenanced, with the pride of Nimrod (i.e., those who are beautiful like Joseph and proud as Nimrod) and the sovereignty of the word and meaning is due to the grandeur of the praise of that Decorator of the heads Who has made the name-sake of His Friend,³ namely, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, unique and distinguished in the seven regions of the globe with the gift of nine virtues.

The first virtue is

Divine Knowledge, which, in spite of the veils of multiplicity in contemplation of the beloved of Unity, has made the meaning of the miraculously expressed saying

¹ حُرْمِي : Lit: mirth or joyfulness. Here, it stands for 'freshness and bloom.'

² گُزار ابراهيم : A reference to the fire lit by Nimrod for burning the Prophet Abraham.

The moment he was thrown into it, God commanded the fire to become peace. Cf. the verse of the Qur'an:

يَا نَارُ كُونِي بَرْدًا وَسَلَامًا عَلَىٰ اِبْرَاهِيمَ

³ خليل : A friend : the recognised cognomen of the Prophet Abraham who was the Friend of God.

"even if the veil was lifted I would not be more certain,"¹ an attribute of him (*i.e.*, although God is concealed from view by the veils of multiplicity, yet the king with his perfect knowledge of Him is not debarred from seeing Him). The garden of his intention and belief is free from the wattle and straw of scruples and doubt. The volume of the Divine Knowledge of Monotheists is but a sheet from the book of his knowledge of God (*i.e.*, the knowledge of all the believers in one God, put together is only a small fraction of the King's knowledge of Him). The severity and violence of God's creatures is agreeable to his yielding disposition (*i.e.*, if any one of his subjects is rude or insolent to him, he endures it and does not take it ill). By the lucidity of his speech the clue to the Clueless become obvious and convincing. The revolving sun is instructed not to cast its eye on the double sighted, and the painter of Destiny is warned against paying attention to the condition of the squint-eyed.² The sacred cord of the Brahmans has no such weak ingraft with the rosary of the Mohammadans that its breaking may laugh at the struggle of the priests (*i.e.*, Hinduism and Islam are so knit together that all the attempts on the parts of the priests to sever one from the other are utterly futile). The understanding between Atheism

¹ **كَلِمَاتُهُ.....**: Words uttered by 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, meaning :

"Even if the veil was removed, I would not increase my belief." That is to say his belief in the existence of God was from the very beginning so perfect that it required no proof whatsoever of a direct or indirect nature to give it more firmness or stability.

² **احرج** : Those afflicted with double vision, *i.e.*, incapable of discerning Truth which is essentially one, Cf. Truth is one error manifold.

and Faith is not so slight but that the headache of the latter may cause the former to get the sandal of cure from the forehead of the Brahmins (*i.e.*, Paganism on account of union with Islam administers to the needs of the latter, that is, promotes its cause). From the dread of his belief in Unity, duality has fled into Oneness, and by relation of his abstraction from worldly concerns, *self* is merged into God. He possesses a truth-listening ear, a truth-seeking heart, an inspired breast, a sky-like head, and a brow pouring out prostrations. •

Masnawī

He has the foot of sublimity on the sky, and the head of devotion ever low at the threshold of the Almighty (*i.e.*, although his worldly position is very high, yet his head is ever low in devotion to God). In his speech and observation, he is in devotion; his mode is the right mode of worship. The seclusion of others and his being in company are alike; the unity of this and that and his multiplicity are equal (*i.e.*, though he is in the company of men, and engaged in the transaction of worldly affairs, he is ever lost in the contemplation of God. He does not engage his heart to this or that; nothing finds a place in it but God. He became an iconoclast¹ like Khalīl from

¹ بے شک: A reference to the Prophet Abraham who once got into the tavern of the idol-worshippers and broke there all the images with the exception of one, the biggest of them, which he left untouched. On being questioned as to whether he did it, he replied that the biggest of the idols might have done that and exhorted the people to go to the temple and inquire of that idol, which, being their Supreme Deity, must reply. The people took the hint and many of them got ashamed and gave up idol-worship.

the very beginning, may true faith be in store for him. Heathenism is in search of divine knowledge; infidelity offers thanks for the boon of faith (*i.e.*, even an unbeliever, on account of the king's purity of heart is learning to seek God's knowledge, and Scepticism is grateful that it has been endowed with the blessing of faith). His nature is the receiver of tribute from all natures; his intention is the king of all intentions. What a readiness he shows in devotion! His devotion is in proportion to his sovereignty¹ (or is in accordance with the commandments of God). He carried the mystery of Unity from his skin (deep in) to his marrow,² and absorbed himself wholly in Him (*i.e.*, having discovered the essence of the unity of God, he identified himself wholly with Him; or that, he gave marrow to the head of unity which was an empty skull before, so that he turned the *حال* into *قال*).

The second virtue is

the good fortune of submission to the lustrous teachings of Mohammad, and the boon of lifting the banner of affection for 'Alī. Through the boon of his researches in religion,³ prosperity is enamoured of the Islamic Law (*i.e.*, under the king's fostering care, the exercise of the virtues dictated by Islamic Law is vigorously carried on); and through the soundness of his

¹ This passage is susceptible of a double interpretation. It may mean either (a) that the king's piety is as great as his regal state, or, if *خداوندی* refers to God, (b) the king's devotional activities are just as God would have them.

² *از پوست به مغز بردن* To carry from the shell to the Kernel, *i.e.*, to grasp a thing fully.

³ *اجتهاد*: A term used in Mohammadan Law, meaning to deduce a conclusion from the verses of the Qur'ān or the traditions of the Prophet.

belief, the work of religion is secure against ruin. The hand of the dignitaries is on their foreheads to accept his commands and the wound of the refractory is frightful for disregarding his prohibitions (*i.e.*, the most distinguished accept his commands, and the disobedient are ever smarting under the wounds of affliction.) The forehead of religion is at rest under the shelter of his kingly crown (*i.e.*, religion enjoys perfect peace under his benign rule). The fame of the spread of religion is the salt of the table-cloth of his sovereignty (*i.e.*, just as salt gives taste to food, so also the spread of religion serves as an ornament to the empire). With the firm support of his encouragement, the foundation of the palace of Faith has a rocky basis; through the help of his fostering care the High Court of Judicature has Darius for its gate-keeper (*i.e.*, he has appointed high officials to see justice done to the poor and Darius of proverbial justness occupies the position of the porter there). The administrative writs issued by the governors of the towns and cities are decorated with the seal of the all-powerful *Qāzis* (*i.e.*, the country is ruled according to the laws of Islam); and in the assembly of his government and legislation, the orders of the occupants of the chair of Islamic Law¹ have a preponderance over the royal decrees and commands. In treading the path² of Islamic Law he has beaten the dust of prejudice from off the skirt of his endeavour, and has assigned a place in his heart, which is the seat of revelation, to the love and affection of every one of his courtiers in accordance with their respective deserts. The argument brought in support of the discussion of the subject-matter of his leadership is decisive through his being

¹ **قضاء** : Islamic legislature established by the authority of the Qur'ān and the actions of the Prophet.

² **طريق** : An expounder of the articles of Faith. Also means thoroughfare. Here, used in the latter sense.

a follower of the chief companions of the Prophet (i.e., the credential of his premier authority is based upon his following in the footsteps of the chief companions of the Prophet, or, that his supremacy as a leader is undoubted in that he adheres to the traditions maintained by the first Caliphs of the Islamic Republic); and the proof of the purity of his nature is his affection for the holy *Imāms*.

Masnawī

His entire love is devoted to the virtuous; his lash of rebuke is directed against the vicious (i.e., he loves the good and hates the vicious). The palm-tree of the planters of heresy bears no fruit; the body of the headstrong is headless (i.e., their heads are cut off by him). He has separated truth from falsehood; both the worlds are a sown-field and he is its product. Headstrong passion is one of his subordinates; the worshippers of God are amongst his worshippers (i.e., obedient to him). Rudeness has become politeness through his favour; his kingship is a slave to Islamic Law. The administration of every department rests on Islamic Law; even disbelief in God has that law for its basis.

If a summons were issued from his court of justice, they would drag the sky itself (i.e., there is no resisting to the Islamic injunctions, even the sky cannot but submit to them). The corn-field cannot moisten its dry lip until the cloud brings in the rain from the sea of the Islamic Law (i.e., the Islamic Law regulates and controls everything in his empire, so that nothing is done contrary to that law). Why should he not feel proud before his enemies? The luminous law of Islām has made him bright.

The third is his

Pomp and glory, greatness, and magnificence. It is meet that the seekers of high position should first, like a

shadow, place their heads under their feet so that they may make a bow at the threshold of his heaven-like earth. No one ever smeared his forehead with the dust of humble obeisance at his door but the glory of the *Ka'ānī* cap shone forth from his lofty head. Whoever did not wish him prosperity ruined himself, and whoever did not play the game of his fidelity staked both his religion and the world, (*i.e.* he who was not loyal to him ruined both materially and spiritually). Until the vernal cloud¹ lets its drops fall at his wish, the pearl cannot enjoy the lustre of royalty. The low slave of high dignity, by kissing the foot of his *'Arsh*-like throne, enjoys the position of an *Amīr* and a king, and his lowest servant whose slave is the sky, has received the title of *Shah Nawāz Khān* by spreading the table-cloth of his world-wide hospitality. In the banquet-house of his festivity, *Jamshīd* has the function of a draught-taster. At the door of his magnanimity *Hātim* is allotted the duty of a seal-bearer. Destiny in the bow of his plan is a sure archer, and Inspiration by whispering into his heart has its position exalted.

Masnawī

If his pomp were to be confined in a space, the canopy of the earth and time would crack. The eight heavens are only a rose from his garden ; the seven seas a moisture from his ocean. The anchor of gentleness has made him weighty ; his weightiness has seated the mountain in a pit (*i.e.*, it is due to his dignity that the mountains are deep-rooted in the earth). My mouth is filled with repeated mentions of his glory ; what a pomp and grandeur my word possesses ! Heights fall short of his praise on account of his loftiness. The greatest

¹ نيسانی Name of the seventh Syrian month corresponding to the English month April during which rain drops are believed to produce pearls.

flight of encomium is found lowly on account of the sublimity of his position (i.e., no words uttered in the King's praise can be censured as exaggerated). The pride of the sky is proper, it is lucky; it is the dust of the King's path, and has, therefore, a high rank (i.e., the loftiness of the sky is derived from his elevated position, and is hence justly proud of itself.) They call him not only the Emperor of territory but also know him to be the lord of everything. He has no equal either in dignity or in accomplishments; neither a hundred Platos nor a thousand Alexanders can vie with him. What morning did the revolving sky breathe forth without reading ¹ **وان يكاد الع** over his face (to shield the king from the evils incident to the day).

The fourth virtue is his

'Justice'—which has acquired for him world-wide fame² for possessing the quality of equity, and has entertained the ear of the oppressed with the sound of the drum of his justice. In the cup of his justice the dregs are clear of impurity, and the claim for being just of any one other than himself is but an idle talk. Though before his time Naushriwān was distinguished with the high appellation of the Just, yet that was a mirage,³ this is a sea; that was an allegory, this is a reality. The breeze which did not blow from the seat of his justice had

¹ This is a verse of the Nur'ān, reputed to divert the effect of the evil eye. The following is the full text:

وان يكاد الذين كلوا ليزلقوك باصارهم لما سمر الذكر و يقرولون
انه لمجنون -

² **علم ساختن** An idiomatic expression meaning: 'to make one famous or wellknown.' The simile is taken from the banner which occupies a conspicuous position and is easily distinguishable from afar.

³ **سراب** Avapour resembling the sea at a distance, formed by the reflection of the sun's meridian rays upon the surface of the sandy plains; anything unreal.

no flower in the garden to smile over its face, and the morn which has not dawned from the East of his justice, has not cast its true light over the world (*i.e.*, could not illumine the world). If the moon breaks a thread of jute linen (which is believed to be torn into pieces in the moonlight) it receives a blow as is apparent from its spot (*i.e.*, it gets the spot as if it were the impression of a *blow* on its face); and if the word '*tyranny*' is uttered by the mouth of any one, the tongue of Speech is on the verge of destruction. No violent deluge uproots a gentle grass but that the pricking dread of the King's wrath breaks the brain of the cloud at a thousand places. In the market of his bounty the ear of the free people is in the ring of sale (*i.e.*, the free have become his slaves as a mark of indebtedness to him for his bounty); and with the cloud of his justice the corn-field of those who get no produce is brought into the monopoly of fertility (*i.e.*, owing to his world-wide justice, even those fields that were barren become fertile). In the domain of action, the deeds of the wicked are entirely praiseworthy; and through the justice of the King the pinching cold of December has changed into the mildness of March for the ague-sellers of the market of nakedness (*i.e.*, owing to the justice of the King the nature of winter is changed so that the piercing cold of December does no more bite the shivering naked people).

Masnawī

The sound of the beating of the drum of justice is heard from his balcony; the wine of rejoicing is ever in his cup. Religion is strong-handed with the arm of his justice; justice with his equity has become a balance of justice (*i.e.*, people now administer real justice among themselves). They cut the heels of the wind in the garden if a petal sustains injury at the hands of a thorn. If a thorn shows a tendency to prick, the power of growth in it begins to take to its heels. If the autumn

comes face to face with a tree, it runs away as does heat from the month of Abān. The lion is licking the lamb through fondness, and the wolf is drenched in its own blood. His court is a pleasure garden for wisdom, and his place a palace of mirth for justice. Such is the way of justice and such is the manner of equity ; all are pupils ; he is the teacher. He has the burden of the honour of men on his neck ; how excellent is his way of doing his duty to God.

The fith virtue is bravery.

By the fame of the might of his arm the story of the strength of a lion's claw is broken in the palate and tongue of people, and at the table of his praise for fighting in battle the ear is sitting satisfied against the hearing of the story of the seven exploits¹ of *Rustam*. With his powerful arm the edge of his sword can cause a rift in the head of the sky, and with his accurate aim his arrow can bore a navel into the back of the Caucasus. If his terror leads a night attack on the enemy in his dream it is no wonder if the latter can ever get his head out of that danger even when awake. The texture of his lion-capturing noose has borrowed its twists from the ringlets of the curly-haired, and his dagger, which is thirsty for the blood of his enemies, is tempered in one manufactory together with the sword of the blandishment of the beautiful. He has entrusted fatal wounds to the head-loving scimitar, and in distributing the articles of plunder, he has treated the vanity and boldness of his enemies as a lawful booty.

¹ هفت‌گهوان و حتم : Seven dangerous places between Irān and Tūrān, where the champion *Rustam* and also *Asfandiyar* met with perilous adventures in their respective journeys.

Masnawī

With the tip of his finger he pulls out the eyes of a lion from its skull in fight. Victory tells the tale of his sword; the tongue of infidelity does not disparage religion. With the successive infliction of wounds by his dagger Death throws down salve from its hand (*i. e.*, even if Death wishes to cure such wounds it cannot). When he fitted the arrow to the bow-string he bored a hole in a black coral in the heart of a dark night (*i. e.*, at midnight). Never an arrow leapt from his bow that Death itself did not, at every such occasion, take the hilt from his hand (*i. e.*, even Death, feeling its inferiority to kill with so much certainty, was ever ready to learn the art of accurate shooting from the king). To lay down a record of his victories how many pens of hands were cut off! (*i. e.*, he killed his enemies in large numbers and thus provided sufficient material for his conquests to be written down in books). Look at the cherished desires of his enemy lying doomed; no one wielded the sword of revenge in such a way. In festival and in battle his wine-cup and his dagger are always dripping with Venus and Mars. The battlefield is his garden; the love of the Lion of God ('Alī) is his armour.

The sixth is his

munificence. The openness of his palm has not left narrowness in the world, except in the heart of the wicked, and the mouth of the beloved. The veils that he has lifted off the face of defects, have been cast on the eyes of the fault-finders (*i. e.*, in his reign defects are non-existent, and his generosity has caused viciousness to disappear from the eyes of the wicked); and the locks that he has removed from the door of the treasury have been put upon the mouths of the critics (*i. e.*, the mouths of the critics have been shut by the bestowal of wealth). None of the grandees has so sewn the garment of generosity as to preclude the hand of a critic from reaching it; and none of the spreaders

of the table-cloth so cooked the kettle of hospitality that the remark of its being inadequately cooked may not pass on a taunting tongue (*i. e.*, the King tops the list of all munificent personages, and is above adverse remark).

Avarice is one of the released prisoners of despair at the time of appeal to his generosity (*i. e.*, even avarice is satisfied with the excess of his bounty). The sky eats morsels of the sun and the moon from the tray of his hospitality. The night-dreams of the poor, of high fortune, are endowed with reality at morning by referring to the garden of his generosity in picking up the flowers of their object (*i. e.* the dreams of the poor at night for the acquirement of wealth are realised by his liberality in the day). By the breeze of his high-mindedness blossomed flowers grow on the twigs so that the bud may not keep its fist closed on its gold. When the clouds rain arrows of starvation people carry money in shields (it is not weighed) so that, on account of the excess of his bounty, the pointer of the royal balance may not assume the shape of (meaning *nil* which would indicate a refusal). Hopes are in the bosom of fulfilment. Grants are like advance money bought of disbursement (*i. e.*, pay-bills are received by people in advance as if their value is already paid to the treasury). The jeweller of cloud is drowned in the perspiration of shame to see his pearl-scattering; ♪ the alchemic power of the sun is in eager search for his bestowal of gold. If there is a sea it is made to sit on the dust by him (*i. e.*, made to touch the earth) and if there is a mine it is made to reach the surface of the water (*i. e.*, sent down very deep).

Couplets

When Destiny wrote the record of existence; it wrote on his palm the writ of munificence (*i. e.*, assigned this quality to him). His palm is an ocean and his bounty a cloud; the field of the hope of the world is irrigated by his bounty. If

the sea brags of fulness before him, its pearl (which is the cause of its pride) becomes trash like a bubble.

His promise is a king and its fulfilment his army; there is no waiting for the fulfilment of his promise (just as a king has a large army so his single promise is attended by several performances). The moon is under the seal of his royal coinage; the purse of the fish is submerged into *dirhams*.¹ All the efforts of the sun to prove its alchemic power are vain before his bounty. The needy do not even quite open their lips for help that they (members of the royal house) give them² both the worlds at a single solicitation. His least bestowal is a country, a city, and a village; the cash of a hundred treasure is given away at a single request. A difficult task was imposed on the pearl-producing cloud when it looked at the pearl-scattering hand of the King (*i.e.*, since he has seen his hand giving away so liberally, it has to do an enormous amount of labour in producing pearls for the full exercise of his bounty).

The seventh virtue is his comely form and world-embellishing countenance.

Beauty, which had descended to Joseph from Abraham by inheritance and which was so long kept in deposit behind the curtain of mystery, is now again handed over to Ibrāhīm by *Time*, the deliverer of trusts. The possessors of inward sight are those who use their eyes in looking at his beautiful countenance, and the masters of affection are such heartless

¹ The spot on the face of the moon is here compared to a coin and the scale on the back of the fish to a *dirham* (also a coin).

² **دهند**: The subject of this verb is the Royal Court (*i.e.*, the King himself (understood) and not **سائى** as appears to be at the first sight.

persons as surrender their hearts to his love. In emitting light, his forehead is the torch of the valley of Moses. In bloom and freshness his cheek is like the garden of Abraham. With the story of his stature the dreams of people are all pleasure¹ and with the talk of his gait, breaths are trampled under feet. In the pleasure-house of his love, melancholy hearts are immune from care, and in the garden of his countenance, faded looks are full of moisture (*i.e.*, freshness). Those who enjoy life like *Perwiz*, sip a drop from his Jamshid-like cup, and the moon-faced are in the meshes of his sunny net.

Masnawī.

The eye becomes a bed of suns by looking at his face (*i.e.*, his face is so bright that the eye of a spectator, on account of the excess of brightness, seems to have many suns in its sight); the brain is a garden of spikenard from his hair (*i.e.*, his hair is so fragrant that it fills the brain with sweet scent and makes it a garden of spikenard). Beauty is astonished² to see his countenance; *Tūbā* has its foot struck into the ground³ by looking at his stature. His cheek is a fresh spring of the garden of Paradise; the lamp of *Harem* bears the scar of a victim moth. He made the mirror the reflector of radiance, and filled it with the sun and the moon (*i.e.*, when he looked his face in the mirror, a number of suns and moons were reflected owing to the excessive brightness of his face).

¹ A play on the word *بَهِل* which also means 'a tree.' It is an appropriate word in connection with *بَهِل* the sight of which is pleasing to the eye.

² *دست بردل* : Hand on the heart: an idiomatic expression used to indicate amazement or anxiety.

³ *پای در گل ماندن* : To have one's foot stuck into the clay. The expression is used when one is so dazzled and amazed that his motion is lost.

His heart is a treasure for the pearl of love; his face a granary for the grain of beauty. Neither the sun nor the moon had such a charm; every look that went up to him was arrested. Fascination in the heart of beloveds is derived from him (*i.e.*, the power of attraction in them has been borrowed from him); the love of Jacob¹ and the beauty of Joseph proceed from him. Before his face Paradise is ashamed of itself; how charming is the disposition of the master of such a disposition! May the wine of his affection be a fortification for senses; may my brimful cup be pleasing and tasteful to me.

The eight is his good nature and pleasant manners

He is the possessor of politeness and perfection and the sum total of the qualities of glory and beauty. By reading the book of his affection even those devoid of love have become commentators of the book of friendship (*i.e.*, his manners and kind treatment are so charming that even strangers become his fast friends); and on the path of treading in his footsteps (*i.e.*, leadership) *Khizr*² thirsts for the vale of his guidance. The rain of the cloud of his judgment is the pacifier of the dust of dispute and enmity, and nourishes the tree of reform and rectitude. Crumb-eating at the table of his magnanimity is the elixir for the boon of satiety, and the tasting of the honey of his kindness is the


¹ A reference to Jacob's life-long agony of pain in separation of his dearest son Joseph who was betrayed by his brothers through sheer jealousy and thrown into a well, whence he was picked up by a caravan and sold in Egypt. Subsequently he became king after great sufferings and met his father again.

² The Prophet *Khizr* who discovered and drank *Nectar*, whereby he became immortal. He is supposed to be touring round the world, and helping people in many ways,

progenitor of the relish of control over wrath. With the sight of the moon of his bright judgment, light is heaped up in the eyes. With the powerful arm of the bright ray of his heart, the throat of the sun is in suffocation. The bubble of the violent rain of the cloud of his promise is like an anvil (*i.e.*, his promise is so firm that even an empty bubble of it is as solid as the anvil); and the teeth of the file of Destiny are too blunt to gnaw down the chain of his vow. At the thought of his delicacy, the narcissus is immersed in shame, and with the discernment of the height of his forbearance, the mountain has its back broken. In contrast with the softness of his pleasing temper, the silken garment of the jessamine is coarse; and in comparison to the scent of the garden of his politeness, the fragrance of Khutan is offensive. His forehead in openness is a plain of the heart of the recluse (*i.e.*, his forehead is as broad as the heart of a hermit is large). His sight is in purity the film of the eye of the beholders of God.

Couplets

The honey of his favour is the salt of life; the sea of his bounty is in search of the thirsty. Generosity itself has fixed its eye on his favour; Decoration has acquired lustre from his stature. The sun is a line from the page of his enmity; the mountain is a straw before the stone of his weightiness. If bitter words full of poison pass over his lips, they become sweet. When he speaks harshly¹ and gently, who can know the marrow from the bone? (*i.e.* in conversation he so modulates

¹ If  is taken in the sense of 'fluency' or 'force,' as distinct from harshness, the meaning would be :

'harsh words, through his command of expression, appear soft, so that none can ever make any difference between the two.'

harshness with gentleness that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other).

There is not such pleasure and grief in the world as the latter may have occasion to feel shame with the change of circumstances (*i.e.*, *grief* has become extinct, and *pleasure* that has taken its place is beyond the possibility of deterioration through the ravages of Time). The sky and its mansion may collapse, but the arch of his contract and promise cannot break. He alone accomplished his work who agreed with him; one who surrendered his *self* to his love triumphed over all. What did one see who did not see his cheek? What did one hear who did not hear him?

The ninth is the virtue of acquiring
excellences and perfection.

In estimating his bright genius the lofty sky is a cripple; and in contrast with his meditation and sound judgment, the deep sea is a tiny wave. With the miracle of his *David*-like songs he softens the iron-hearts into wax; and with the freshness of his *bārbud*-like notes, he picks away the dryness from off the brain of the pious (*i.e.*, even pious people, who have no passion for music, are amused with his charming melodies). In the garden of music, the body of Venus, with the flower of acknowledgment of his pupilship, is decorating her head (*i.e.*, Venus considers it an honour to acknowledge herself as his pupil in the art of music); and on the page of his writing the cipher of Jupiter¹ has its position exalted by the cipher of his testing pen.

¹ Just as each cipher placed after another increases the value tenfold, so his cipher placed with the cipher of Jupiter heightens its position.

If the nightingale mingles its breath with the songs composed by the King, it would fling down from its beak both its old melody and the petal of flower (which it loves so much). With the honey of his eloquence the taste of fluency has pervaded the throat and the tongue; and with the key of his oratory the lock of stammering has been removed from the door of speech. With the light of his description the evening-hearted become morning-featured;¹ and through his lucid expression even dullards have become long-tongued (*i.e.*, acquired fluency). Who (but him) has the power of access to pure meaning? His high intellect has placed it on a high niche (so that none can reach it). Who has the power of purchasing dignified words? His eloquence has already paid their price in advance. His composition has the purity of the pearl of Aden; his words have the freshness of an old turquoise.

Couplets.

With the sweat of exertion he has moistened his forehead, so that the reputation of Art be preserved. Speech has become pure gold through him; his thought is the copper, and his genius the alchemist (*i.e.*, thought is transmuted into pure gold by his genius). The cup of his words with the fulness of meaning frees intellect from drowsiness (*i.e.*, sharpens and gives tone to intellect.) The hopes of imagination are fulfilled by him; he forbade them from mixing with the non-fulfilment. Every word of his is a precious pearl; the ear has placed its eye of hope on his mouth. The sky is humble before the loftiness of his speech; the Sirius is only a dot from among the dots of his

¹ شام‌طلبان در صبح طرازی : Those whose hearts are dim like evening receive the light of morn, *i.e.*, their blunt and gloomy hearts become bright and cheerful like the day.

verses. By his mode of expression,¹ there is a gracefulness to comprehension; hearing is in love with his talk. Who but him beat the drum of sovereignty in the name of mastery from above the balcony of mastership?

What an excellent just monarch he is, of perfect fortune with a heart like wax, and a promise like iron, with light obligation but heavy bestowal,² a mountain in weight but light as straw in enmity (*i.e.*, with no passion for revenge), a captivator of hearts, a tamer of minds, of sweet speech, hearer of bitter words, a forgiver, the extradicator of crimes, the maker of home in the hearts of strangers, the embellisher of humility, the extinguisher of pride, his heart in control, aloof from all and yet with all, with the visage of Joseph, a shelter for beauty, of the name of Abraham, of the threshold of the Ka'ba to whom, from eternity, no lack of bounty was shown in the court of God's bestowal, and for whom the pen of Destiny wrote whatever was pleasing and tasteful to his wishes.

The year and month of his eternity-bound age are taking a pleasure-walk in the orchard of the third tens,³ and yet the fame of his attainment and perfection has reached the brain of the residents of the seventh sky. They are the deniers of boon (ungrateful) who at the table of his skill in the art of music put no faith in his mastership, and do not sow the seed of gratefulness for his pupilage in the soil of their palate and tongue (*i.e.*, those who neither acknowledge him as their teacher

¹ به ادایش ادا رسیدن : The first ادا is used in the sense of 'delivery' or 'expression'; the second means 'beauty' or 'charm.'

² The sense is that he is very generous but does not let people feel that they are under his obligation.

³ *I.e.*, his age is between 20 and 30 years.

nor thank him for the manifold advantages they have derived from him are ungrateful people). Who ever possesses the tongue of gratefulness? (i.e., none can adequately thank him for his gifts). With the generous grant of gold and silver (from the King) the purses of those skilled in their arts are heavy, and with the bestowal of meaning and matter, the works of the poets are beaming with lustre. By mentioning one or two prized meanings out of the many given by the King, which are laid down in my poetic record, I only mean to give the reader a little idea of the King's erudition. One day some verses were being read in praise of a fat leopard and dispraise of a lean horse before the masters of learning in the King's heaven-like court. It might perhaps have occurred to the audience that the King's high genius did not intentionally like to comment on them owing to lethargy, for there could, of course, be no doubt as to the King's loftiness of imagination and force of thought. His sense of quick perception having found this out, some twenty or thirty meanings with suggestive similes were given by him in a most impressive manner. The one he uttered was that if the leopard was not tied to the pegs of his own spots at a hundred places, with the chain of his veins and sinews, it might be feared that the animal would quickly leap away from his own skin. The other was that the horse was so weak and feeble that if during the time its picture was being drawn, there was slight shake to the pen, the horse would fall to the ground, and like a sketch produce imprints on the earth. I swear by truthfulness that there is no exaggeration in this statement, and that such explanations befit our capacities and power of grasp, otherwise the meanings which he can give are weightier than what can be borne by the neck of the mighty possessors of learning and intellect. May those with a grounding in learning enjoy the benefit of their attendance in the King's library, which is a place where God's blessings are poured on men, and which is a school for the

training of the teachers of meaning, who are in reality the pupils of his High Majesty the King, the shadow of God. They have a court of justice in the Royal palace, and an assembly of pleasure and festivity in the garden; and for them the superintendence of the bounty and munificence in the treasury, and of meditation over arts and other perfections in the Royal library, is reserved. In reality the absentees who having taken out the marrow of their perfections and putting it in what they term a book are sitting in close contact with one another, are virtually present, and derive benefit in perpetuity (*i. e.*, old authors who in their lifetime had failed to get one appreciation are, now, in their works, honoured through the King's patronage of literature). The instructions which have been up to this time received on the art of versification and poetry, explaining the fitness of place, the gravity of the basis of discourse, clearness of style, introduction, consolidation, conclusion, prolixity, illustration, summary, ambiguity, gravity of style, beauty of allusion, grandeur of meaning, excellence of words, appropriateness of connection, compactness of letters, evenness of construction, felicity of rhyme, suitability of metre, search for hilarity, lucidness of text, purity of language, sweat of exertion, early rise from sleep, mortification of receiving gratuity and the beggarly habit of accepting it, and the like, have been laid down in the preface of the book *Nauras*, with whose fame the old inn of the world is resounding.

Praise be to God that through the boon of his teaching I, in my old age, am, feeling the vigour of youth, and running side by side with the master-riders of this art. And what progress can be greater than this that the sun of his training, having cast its rays of favour, has made an obscure person like Zuhūrī famous (*i. e.*, the King's patronage of literature is evident from the conspicuous position granted to Zuhūrī, who, afore time, had been but an unknown individual). And in the adornment of the Rose-garden of Abraham he (*i. e.*, Zuhūrī) is

a co-partner of Malik-ul-Kalam,¹ who is unique and unrivalled, and whose branch is grown side by side with the root, and whose magic goes shoulder to shoulder with miracle. Ay, the strength of a drop to swim is due to the arm of the current of the sea,¹ and the lustre in the grain of sand is from the reflection of the world-decorating sun. Notwithstanding the work of administration and the care for the welfare of his subjects and the army, to take upon his shoulder the burden of *Jugat Gurū'i* (educating the whole world), and to bear the pains of training his pupils, is for no other purpose but to show kindness and favour to both the people and the world and also to the possessors of intrinsic worth, so that their intellectual capacity may not fall to decay, and they may be thoroughly benefited thereby.

Until mercy and kindness are found to this height (*i. e.*, administered to this extent) ascending a royal throne is not possible for anyone; and until one becomes a sea of compassion and politeness, the pearl of monarchy and rulership cannot be secured. The superiority of kings lies in their showing kindness and mercy, and not in the length and breadth of their empires.

Hemistich

The kinder the man, the greater the monarch.

¹ Lit: king of composition, surname of Qumī, a famous poet at the court of Bījāpūr, who afterwards became Zuhūrī's father-in-law.

² Just as the drop of water in the ocean is drifted along by the force of the waves and has no power by itself, similarly Zuhūrī (who is here compared to a drop) has got his power and influence in the country through the favour and patronage of the king (who is compared to an ocean).

Weeping has never again spread the carpet of tears over a face upon which his favour once smiled. The infant which once sucked the tip of the finger of his kindness no longer sucked his mother's breast. In mentioning his kindness that is his sweet talk with me which is in itself a certificate of honour and a testimonial of confidence reposed in my humble self, my writing pen has a tongue (*i. e.*, I wish to give here an instance of the gracious conversation the king had with me). Since there is a secret conversation¹ between humbleness and pride, once at an opportune moment, I said that the deprivation of the honour of kissing the royal carpet had, like the patience of lovers, exceeded all bounds, and the burden of loneliness on the shoulder of the light-hearted was extremely heavy. To this he replied in words more saltish than the salt of love :

‘If thou wert alone it would have been so, but since thou hast a companion thou canst very well meet and enjoy.’²

What can one enjoy ?

Couplet

Life is one but there are a hundred thousand charms for it ; why should I then uselessly indulge my tongue in sup-

¹ *Ḥisā* : Here means relationship or understanding. What the author means to say is that the people of low rank are in a way connected with the high inasmuch as the former have got to go to the latter for help and subsistence.

² What the King meant to say to Zuhūrī was :—had there been no jolly companion for him in the outside world, he would have been certainly feeling lonely, but it is not so, since he has a friend in Malik Qumī and can very well enjoy without feeling much for the companionship of the king.

plicatory talk (i.e., seeking for the King's company). If I were to enter into a detailed description of the comforts of life in this foreign land, I would then be persuading people to come out of their homes, but I cannot tolerate this jealousy either (i.e., my jealousy for their participating in my happiness and thus being my rivals). Nevertheless, if I were to shut my tongue on this point, I am afraid I would be neglecting some of my friends and also those who are destitute, and I am not so cruel either.

Masnawî

The Deccan is the home of mirth and happiness ; the lip is thrown into a foreign land by the talk of one's native country. It is not strange that the morn of the day of joyous meeting of happy lovers with their beloveds may feel ashamed before the evening of a homeless traveller (entering the King's city). Exquisite tunes are poured forth from his musical instrument ; ay, the king is the comforter of the stranger. In conversation he has fully extracted the marrow from the skin ; he loves the use of exquisite words and meanings.

May no one have to quit his lane ; may no one be a stranger in his native land (by leaving the King's realm). He is the soul of the figure of *Faithfulness* and *Love* ; his love is an antidote for all poisons. He spreads his fame throughout the empire to conquer every master of art. Life swears by his life ; where is one so generous as he ? His royal mandate is inviting the runners after art, impatiently saying 'make haste'.

If the objection of breathing long (i.e., prolonging my narrative) be raised it would be a fault. It is not the eulogy and panegyric of others that the objection of lengthiness be brought forward and I feel shame for prolixity. The faculty of hearing has not gained such bliss as it may not be grateful to the power of speech. On the contrary, through the freshness of discourse I feel the thirst for hearing it evermore. But since

my silence, due to my incapacity to proceed further, would in the end, be a seal on the mouth of utterance, my prayer also has made preparations for going round the Ka'ba of end(i.e., I now propose to conclude my speech with a prayer).

Hemistich.

Tell acceptance to open its lips to say 'Amen.'

Ghazal

May Ibrahim be the *Ka'ba* of Godly men and the *Qibla* of the nine skies and the seven empires. May the sky be lowering before his dignity, and the new moon humbly bowing. His lofty ambition did not like the construction of the word *م* (little) ; may *و* rebel against joining *م*.

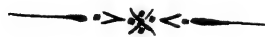
The absence of favouritism is evident from his world-wide bounty ; the good and the bad may have the happy tidings of universal favour. So long as pleasure and mirth be subject to distribution, may he have in his lot the happiness of the whole world.

So long as the hopes of all are centred in one God, may the jealous have their hearts cleft into two through his fear. May the Perfect Wisdom in the sown-field of his mastership be the picker of grain from the granary of his instructions. The story is ended, may the garden of his face be an object of envy for the rose-garden of Abraham.

و بالاخران فریب زیستن خود از تواناییست - باید وید که علاج ورم
 چیست - هیچ وقت نیست که ازین مقوله سخنان رساله رساله مذکور نگردد
 و کتاب را آنقدر ورق نیست که طبق عرض آن جوهر گردد و تمام عمر
 اگر کسی ازینها گوید همیشه در ابتدا پوید - اولی اختتام می نماید - باین
 و خاتم گردید -

بیت

تا درین مهان سراخوان خلیل آید بیاد
 میزبان خلق ابراهیم عادلشاه باد



کچھ نہ مراد کر دہ مقام ابراہیم رام کر داند و غفلت خود را از دائرہ توبہ و
محروم و خارج نگرداند۔ در طواف مقام ابراہیم بسفر حجاز ارباب
استطاعت را تاکید است و اینجا بر عکس بے استطاعت را مبالغہ است۔
خریداری کہ بیعاناں از قیمت کالا بیشتر است کہ دیدہ است۔ مایہ
داری کہ جوہر ہنر را بخرمن زر خریدہ است کہ شنیدہ است۔ آئینہ
صیقل کن تا بخورشیدے در بغل نہند۔ برگ سبز بے ہم رسان
تا بجلد شکی بر سر زنند۔ ہر چیز فراخور خود بہ تشریف تحسینش مشرف
الاشعرے متضمن بذمت خصمان کہ ہر چند نمایان و پُر غوغا باشد نا دیدہ
و ناشنیدہ می گذارد۔ مصرع

مروت چوں ناز و صاحب دید

بمجتش از وطن بر آ و در غربت مباحش۔ گرد را ہش بر چہرہ
بہ نشان و بہ آبر و بنشین۔ بر تقدیر یکہ کسے خود را از اکتساب مال و
جاہ و علم و ہنر بے نیاز بیند باید کہ بکسب اخلاقی حسنہ و صفات حمیدہ
از سر قدیم ساختہ بے خیر باد خود براہ افتد تا بداند کہ شوکت و محمت و
جاہ و بجل در چہ درجہ است و ادب و حیا و صبر و تحمل بہ چہ مرتبہ۔
روزے بتقریبے در علم و بردباری سخن می رفت کہ اگر پادشاہ
برداشت نمی داشتند ایشان را حق تعالی بر نمی داشت۔ مارا
بر خلق زیادتی از ان داوہ اند کہ در زیادتی کشیدن از ایشان پے
کم نداریم۔ بسیارے تفصیر خردان نخریدن از کم مایگی بزرگیست
(۳۱)

پرستش خوش آئینه روشن است دروهر بد و نیک ملس اقلن است
 اگر چون ز آه ن شود سکه دار سر انگشت اعمی نماید عیار
 بروی ترش طفل شیرین ادا کند سر که و شیر از هم جدا
 بنا بر این مقدمه لازم آمد که براسه خاطر با خاطر خود را هم نگاه داشته
 از ذوق این نسبت در پوست بگنجم و رعایت پله طرف کرده خود را با زمین
 آسمان بنجم - هر چند که در چمن عمر هفتاد سال نهال طبیعت شگوفه
 پرافشانی کرده چنان نیست که در بهار شنای خدایگان هم چنگلی پیری
 در کار و هم شوخی جوانی پُر بار نباشد - **نظم**

کمن نخل این باغ را نو برم بے خشک نمک داشت شعر ترم
 به انگشت حرف نویسم بر آب به طوفان عان نگر و خراب
 به بزمی که خوان بیان می نمم سخن راستن در دوان می نیمم
 درین انجمن کیست صاحب سخن که عشقه نور زیده باشعمرن
 دهم جام وحدت اگر کثرت است نهم دایم کثرت اگر خلوت است
 نجسته است قالم به ارباب فال که گیرند از گفته ام حسب حال
 ز نظم چنان غشیاں نگار که بر نشر شان نشره کرد و نثار
 غزلها ز ریخته و یسم خام غزالان رم کرده را کرد رم
 ز حرف لب مطربان بهره مند سر آیند از من بیابگ بلند
 مناجاتیان ذکر خوان من اند خراباتیان خود از آن من اند
 این دیباچه مکتوبیست از ظهوری بساکنان ربیع مسکون که از همه طرف

چو فارغ ز آرایش گل نشست پیر و از آواز بلبل نشست
 چنبش در آورده آن سحر فن نسیم نقاب از جبین بر فکن
 پنجم - خدام ملاحظه فرمایند که از ملاحظت سخن و علاوت
 نمک و شکر را بر روی یکدیگر کشیدن اختراع اوست - نهال مجبش
 ریشه در دلهاد و انیده - محضر قبول عام بمهر خاصان رسانیده -
 تاجر ملکی است که کالای دشنامش را به نرخ دعای خرن و زرها
 سره خرج می کنند تا ناسره می برند - از رشک رنگینی حدیثش
 یاقوت خرمهره ایست بخون غیسیده و در جنب شیرینی کلامش
 شان غسل کاسه ایست لیسیده - کسی را که شور نثرین باشد
 معلوم است که نمک نظم تاج غایت خواهد بود -
 هشتم - ظهوری که صدر صف نعال بر مسلم است و
 در افتادگی بر همه مؤخر نشینان مقدم - اگر چه آنقدر مرتبه ندارد
 که در سلک قیمتیان منظم گردد اما چون قبل ازین در پیرایش
 گلزار ابراهیم و اکنون در گسترده خوان خلیل سیم و
 مدیل ملک الکلامیست که بے نظیر و انباز است و روزگار در تمیز
 چنان نیست که گرفتاری بران تواند نمود - روش رواست - و قبولش
 قبول - هر که را پسندیده پسندیده - و هر چه نسجیده نسجیده -

مثنوی

غلط نیست در اقیانوس زمان ندانسته هرگز چنین را چنان
 (۲۹)

رباعیات
 خوشگوی نشد از قلمش هر که نگفت
 نوکش چه گهر با معانی که نه سفت
 گر خار نوشت در دلِ خصم غلبید
 و رنگِ بنوشت بر رخ دوست شگفت

آنگاه بختن جوا هر چستند از عقدِ گهر گذشته خطش جستند
 خطها شده آب در خراسان نترسم ورنه بعرق عراقیان می شستند

چهارم - مولانا فرخ حسین که مافوق تصویرش متصور نیست -
 نقاشان بالادست بزیروستیش می نازند و منت بر جان نهاده
 طرح طرا می کشند - سبز خطان را مشاهده سیاه قلمش چه رنگ
 آمیز بهافر موده - طراوت تصویرش عکس خوبان نحوی کرده در آب
 گرد و شک نشانده - ناقد می نگارند و بوسه مشک می شنوند و لاله می کارند
 و رنگ می دروند - نظم

به تصویر خوبان خاطر فریب ز دلها فرو شسته نقش شکیب
 غلش برده در غار از انسان بکار که گردید چشمان بدین فکار
 گرفتارند مرغابیش بال پر ترشح رخ حاضران کرد تر

تعلیق حرف زنند - در علم خط چنانست که عدا آن سهواً اعلم نصف الخط
 میتوان گفت - فراقی نو خطان را به مشغولی نظاره خطش کند می توان
 الحق این خط را به آن خط چه نسبت که کنش این رازینست است و آن را
 آفت - هر که ابجد خوان قافش نشد سواد جریده ترکیبش روشن نگشت -
 به نم فواره خامه چه بنفشه زار بارسانیده و از شیرینی رقم بحروف
 چه حکم خندها چشانیده - نگاه تماشائی آبخنان بر خطش نه چسپیده که
 در برگشتن دید با در سرمه نه خوابانیده - کتابت بصورت چنان
 خفی که بر هر صفحه کتابی پیوده و در متنی چنان جلی که در کتابی آسمان
 نموده - از فرخندگی صفاتش فال همه بینندگان دلخواه و بزبان
 درازی قلمش زبان جمله حرفگیران کوتاه - در پیروی خط از همه
 پیشینان پیش - شاعران همه آشنای داد خویش - نکته اشش
 خاطر نشین است و نقطه اش مردک نشان -

خامه می ترسم ز دستش سر کشد ^{فرد} ناگهان خط خطها در کشد

نظم

رباینده خطش چو خط نگار
 در آرایش صفه روزگار

بسر خط نویسی علم زبان نمط
 که رخسار خوبان کند مشق خط

لالی معنیش از بحر لاهوت است و جواهر الفاظش از کان ناسوت کیگڑ
 عرش فرسوده پرواز اور سائی از دست یاران اندازد- تو انگری ز تہ بند
 درویشی- مرہے در راحت افتادہ سینہ ریشی- یافتہ کہ مطلب چیست
 ودانستہ کہ مخاطب کیست- **مثنوی**

زہے شور عرفان طراز قہی	کہ از قطرگی بود در قلمری
ملک نام و ملک سخن ملک اوست	سکون دل از جنبش ملک اوست
سخن گر لالی ست از دوج اوست	وگر آفتاب است از برج اوست
بتہ بر علی خم لبالب زند	صبوحی بجام دل شب زند
چو مینا ہند آسمان ساغر است	چو خلوت گزیند زبان برد است
ز لب خندہ نہاد بر روی ہم	ز سانید در گریہا ہم بہ ہم
چنان برد آئینہ دیدہ رنگ	کہ ہم رنگ بودید و ہم لہجہ رنگ
کم افتد چنین نکتہ پر داز کم	کہ نازند از لفظ و معنی ہم
نمایان تری نیست رو در سخن	کہ گم گشتہ صد بار در ہر سخن
بدانگونہ یا قوت این کان بود	کہ در غیر وقتش تواند نمود
ز مغز دل و جان سخن بر کشد	بمغز دل و جان سخن در کشد
بلہ حرف زانجا کہ بالا رود	چو آید فرو تا بہ آنجا رود

سوم- حضرت شاہ خلیل اللہ کہ نزاکت خاطر ہائے
 سترن خوبان بہ اجارہ قلم بدیع رقم اوست- نازک خیالاتی کہ
 حسن سخن راثلث می دانند درین حسرت اند کہ بزبان قلمش
 (۲۶)

و گرسر آمد اہل فراموش خوانند بجاست خدمت شاہ خمیر دال کردست
 عیار گیری شاہش فزودہ قیمت تو بکوردہ غم و شادیش امتحان کردست
 سخنوران ہمہ قائل بحسن تقریرش از انچہ نطق فزودان بیان کردست
 گل ریاض ریاضی کسے نہ چید چو او نہان انجم و افلاک را حیان کردست
 نمی توانمش از مردمان نہان کرد ز مردمی بمن آہنا کہ می توان کردست
 بر آفتاب بہ تیر نگاہ دوخت است براست بینی اگر ذرہ نشان کردست
 قلم کہ نقب ز بن گنج خاں معنیست ہر انچہ کردہ ز تحریک آن بنان کردست
 از وہ نزد اکابر سند چہ قول و فعل بہ نقل او کہ چنین گفتہ و چنان کردست

دوم - خدام ملک الکلام مصرع

کہ ہم خود تواند کہ گوید کہ کیست

از بام سخن کو سہ صاحبقرانی بنامش صدا دادہ و از طلوع سبیل کلامش رنگ بر
 ادیم ز بانہا افتادہ - نامہ رختان عبارتش بفر و فیست کہ از سوادش بیاض سحر
 می سازند - و خامہ دلیر قمش از نیستان نیست کہ شیران دران جگر می باد
 داد قافیہ ہائیکہ تا غایت بران ظلم کردہ اند در ایوان عدل بنیان خود دادہ
 و با طبع روانی کہ نگاہ نفس سوختہ فاشیہ داری اوست - ہر جا در سخن استاد -
 سقط فروشان را چہ سرمایہ و کدام یار کہ دکان غیب بر کالاسے او کشانید
 مشکش خفتی ست و عقیقش بینی - غزل سرائی کہ ہم عشق را مفتون دارد
 و ہم حسن را ممنون - قصیدہ گوئی کہ اگر پادشاہان خواہند کہ نام خود
 بر تخت ز بانہا نشانند باید کہ تحت و بالا زر و گوہر بر او افشانند -

همین بهمین ابروست که بهنگام غضب بالضرورة عاریت می بایدش کرد بهیچ
چیز گذر بر خاطرش نینداخته که کار خود را از وصول نساخته - شاید منظره بعضی
این باشد که بواسطه وفور مراحم و عطاف در محامد و اوصاف تکلفی کرده باشم
ومن درین اندیشه که ناگاه جمعی از آگاهان نگویند کسیکه از عمده ثنائی بیرون نیاید
چرا از اول به عجز اعتراف نه نماید - لکن الحمد که فراخور قدر و محالیت خود مرتبت
و منزلت یافته و شهنشاه قدر دان چنانش از خاک برگرفته که در نورس پور
از بام قصره کاشش زمین پشتیبان آسان گردید - ایوان رفیع بنیانش
در حساب بلندی به پایه که اگر بخار بخار مانع نمی بود اهل فارس از بام نو که هم بر
آورد و آنحضرت است کنگر هایش می شمردند - پیشطاقش نه به پنهانیست که
دراز می سخن به سخن آن وفا کند - سایه سنگینش اگر نگراند از دخت پست گاو
زمین را کشتی سازد - رباعی

مالی همت بنا به پستی نکند این طرح بجز محیط دستی نکند
بر قاسته اندکاو و ماهی بفقان سنگین ست بنا زینشستی نکند
چند آنکه قرب و منزلتش می فراید او نیز بخلق مرحمت می افزاید - اصناف خلق
خصوصاً غریبان دکن اگر دله را وطن دلایش نسازند و زبانه را واقع
دعایش نکنند از جمله بے انصافان و حق ناشناسان باشند چرا که تخم محبت
همه را در سینه بے کینه پادشاه کاشته و می کار و دوبرق ریزی در خداست
آبرو به همه را نگاه داشته و می دارد - نظم
ز چرخ یاد گرفت ست شیوه خدمت که هر چه خاطرش خواست ست آن دست
(۲۴)

درمی یابد که این آله چه لفظ است و در بناسے کدام معنی بکار خواهد رفت۔
 از حاضر جوابیش تیز بیابان ہمہ بکند بیانی معترف و از خرده گیریش
 بزرگ خردان ہمہ بنادانی خویش قائل۔ در ہنگام سوال بیجوابی گا ہی
 اگر اندک تامل می نماید سبب این است کہ از ہجوم و رود سخن نمیداند کہ اول
 بکدام جواب لب بکشد۔ ریاضت کشان علم ریاضی را تقریرش در نعم انداختہ۔
 از تقویم چہرہ ہا بہ احکام رفتہ وآیندہ و چال پرداختہ۔ بر خوان نطقش طلاوت
 سنگ شکر و لاکام خطل است۔ بہ میزان ہمیش مناصفہ کردہ ارض را تفاوت
 چہ و خردل۔ بہ استقامت طبعش نظر محور نگاہان گونیاست و بانفاست خلقتش
 تشریف زر رفت قاشان بوریہ۔ زحش غیرتش را رگہا تانیانہ تیز عنانیست
 و خل ہمتش را برگاہ کف زرفشانی۔ نزدیک تدبیرش بصواب نزدیک نور
 بہ آفتاب۔ دوری رایش از خطا دوری مغرب بطلا۔ در صلحنامہ اش حروف
 و کلمات در بگلگیری و تگ آغوشی ہم پیر ہن و در رزم نامہ اش ہر سطرے
 سپاہی صفت شکن۔ کند خیالش را رخ نارسائی نیست و ویک فکرش را
 جوش خامی نئے۔ راستی قلمش بشناہ کہ اگر کسے در واسطہ سخنش می گفت و کہ
 قلم قط محرف نمی پذیرفت۔ درست ہمیش بہ ترتبہ کہ اگر حضرت مولوی مغوی
 می بود این بیت

مردم اندر حسرت فہم درست اینکه می گویم بقدر فہم تست
 نمی فرمود۔ از خاک و بادش ہرگز غبارے بر خاطر نشستہ۔ آب تشنگان
 و آتش از خامان۔ بے نیازش آنچنان کامیاب گردانیدہ کہ احتیاجش

مشرق ساختہ اند بلکہ ہر یکے را بعد موافقت مقابلہ دیگرے بر خود تقدیم فرمودہ اند

ع بنازم بہ انصاف صافی دلاں

اول۔ نواب مستطاب معالی جناب شاہ نواز خان کہ از بس نوازش

شاہی باین خطاب والا سرفراز است و از غایت ملک خواہی و کار آگاہی
بمنصب جمعدۃ الملکی ممتاز۔ بہت حراست بلاد و رفاہیت عباد و برگزیدہ
برہنگان۔ ظاہر است کہ حشمت و بزرگیش بحسب بخت و اتفاق نیست بلکہ

بمضی استعداد و استحقات است۔ مثنوی

لطیف بالادب شاہش خوش نوا صدر مجلس صاحب خور را شناخت

دین و دولت در پناہ ہم ازو بُرج حصنِ ملکات محکم ازو

مثل او یک تن ندارد دروزگار رو بگردہفت کشور دل برآر

در جہان ہمہ دست او دستور نیست ہر چہ ہے دستور او دستور نیست

در بزرگی جہرخ را اسباب کو باشد ار اسبابش این آداب کو

نامہ تمدید چون سازد رقم در کفش تیغ دو دم گرد رقم

بسبق خدمت از ہمہ محبتش است و بوزن عقیدت از ہمہ ہمیش۔ سر تقاضا خیر آسان

رسانیدہ و میرسدش۔ و بابر ترانہ تفوق زہیدیدہ و می زبیدش۔ باوجود غفلت

جلی کہ از طفولیت در ہر علم بہ لغایت علم بود در کسب فضائل و تحصیل کمالات

سعی و اہتمام را بحال عرق پاک کردن ندادہ۔ چنان بفرست نزدیک کہ

از دور بحرکت قلم جلد نویسان شکستہ رقم درست یافتن مضمون را کاری بس

سہل و امری بغایت آسان میداند۔ ہنوز نفس و رسیدنہ پیاسے سخن نیادہ

بہر سوز و مہقانی صبح دم خیابان خیابان ہواے ارم
 اگر شام و رچاشت از خرمی ہوا صبحی و سبز ہا شبنمی
 سراپاے طوطی بمقار ریش کہ می خواهد از سبزہ پر ہاے نوش
 بفرمان قضا جریان تخم فصاحت و بلاغت از عربستان و ترکستان و دہانہ
 فضل و ہنر از عراق و خراسان آورہ درین خاک پاک کاشتہ اند۔ و از لطافت
 زمین و جوہر آب و ہوا حاصل دیکھوہ برداشتہ۔ یونان اگر در آب نمی بود اکنون
 از تاب رشک در آتش می بود۔ رباعی

از بخت درین شہر تلی می باش دریاے صور را در معنی می باش
 در ہر ہنر از تربیت آب و ہوا بے زحمّت مشق در ترقی می باش
 زہے داراے کامل راے ملک آراے کہ ناے این شہر و کن را رشک عراق
 و خراسان گردانیدہ۔ رسم است کہ مدح طرازان گاہ بسخن تیغ تیغ سخن برفسان
 زبان می کشند و گاہ بحرف باز باز لفظ را در صید گاہ معنی پر واز می دہند و
 گاہ بصفت جولان اسپ اسپ طبیعت را از حروقی بیرون می آرند۔ بخاطر
 رسیدہ کہ چرا از سخن مقربان در گاہ قرب و منزلت خود را نیفزایم و بحدیث
 استادگان پایے تخت و در دولت عظمیٰ بروے بخت نکشایم۔ عزیزان بسیارند
 انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ تذکرۃ الاعزاء علیحدہ نوشتہ می شود۔ حالا بحرف و حکایت
 بعضی از پروردگار ان دولت عظمیٰ و مجلسیان حضرت اعلیٰ کام و زبان را
 سعادت مند می کنم۔ بہ اسامی سامی حضرات کہ صغیر مجلس را مزین دانند
 نسبت جابے نشست نمودن مدغم را قلم نیست۔ بہر جا کہ خود خوش کردہ اند۔

نظم

شود تو کج شقب چو زین آب تر از خجلت شود آب آب گهر
 ز دلہائے نگین چنان زنگ شو کہ ز نگارگون گشته لبہائے جو
 نیار و کشیدن برون آفتاب از و عکس خود را بچندین طناب

سیر باغ و بوستان نصیب ہمہ یاران دوستان

زمین سبزہ زارش از تراوشِ شبنمِ برگِ گی کہ باید۔ از توازشِ خاکِ
 نور سپورِ فیروزہ کُشد بہ نیشاپورِ برند۔ و در سایہٴ نسرين وارِ غوان تودہ
 تودہ پوس و پشته پشته رنگ بہم ریختہ۔ و ہوادارانِ سرو و غوغائیانِ گل پر
 در پربافتہ و آوازِ برآواز انداختہ۔ نفسہا از حکایتِ جامِ زر گسِ سرست
 و نظر ہا از مشاہدہٴ گونہٴ لالہ رنگ بست۔ از تومندیِ اشجارِ خزان در طمہ
 خواری۔ و از برومندیِ شاخسارِ بہار در بر خور داری۔ مثنوی

دخترانِ نادیدہ روئے خزان ہمہ چو املہائے پیرانِ جوان
 ز ثقلِ ثمرِ بید آن سر زمین پئے سجدہٴ شکر سر بر زمین
 گل چنپہ گیر دہمال از شمال چو پروانہ بر شمع افشانہ بال
 بشاخِ انبیرِ برگِ غلطانِ بنار چو طوطی پرے در قفسِ کردہ باز
 نہالِش چنان دگرش و دلربا کہ و سنگ بر سینہ کو بد ہوا
 برو تازگیِ آہنچنان بست آب کہ لغزیدہ در سایہٴ اش آفتاب
 بدر رفتہ چینیہماز ابروئے برگ غم افتادہ بر پشتِ بر روئے برگ

سزد کہ تجماریہ دارین خاک پاک را کالا ساخته به ایران و توران بر توادرت گناز
فتنه و آشوب گل کرده مرمت و لهاے خراب و تعمیر سینه ہاے ویران کنند۔
اگر ہ سرگی در دیدہ کشند انچہ تا حشر از زمین خواہد است بہ بینند۔ فی المثل اگر ہم
خریطہ نوشدارو بودی بدش بضرورت آبرو بودی۔ ^{نظم}

زہے خاک پاک سعادت فرہے کہ غلطہ بران را غرور دہاے
غبارش کہ بر سر مہیزد جلا مقدم نشین است بر تو تیا
بگردش صبا گشتہ نکست پذیر تو گوئی نفس دادہ سردر عیبر
تیسیم ازو آنچنان تازہ زو کہ رودار آب حیات از وضو
لطفیت ہواش دران درجہ کہ اگر بر ہواے خلدش ترجیح دہم رضوان از ہوا
مختم بے تامل تصدیق کند۔ عاشقان کہ باہنجار سند سر از ہواے یار خالی کرد
ازین ہوا پر کنند و تا ہواے اینجانب شوند ہواے کارشان خوب نگرود۔ ہمہ جا

ہوا پرستی عیب است و اینجا ہنر۔ ^{نظم}
ہواے کز و آب حیوان چکد افشارند یک مشت صد جاں چکد
نفس روح پرور بہ تعریف او لطافت شرف بہ تشریف او
ازو عیسوی دم صبا و شمال ز پروردگانش یکے اعتدال

آبش چون می از چہرہ دل گرد غم میشوید۔ بہ نمش از تن زمین بدل سبزو
صحت میردید۔ ماہی سر چشمہ اش اگر در آب بقا افتد چون بر خود جنبد از
ہجر جا بجا افتد و مسحا ہر گاہ بہ علاج تشنگی خود پرداختہ از عکس آفتاب دو
ران انداختہ آب حاضر ازین بیم خود را بہ او نسجد کہ از بس گرانی سبک نگرود۔

گریز آید حدیث وطن در میان زرد و غریبی بنالذ زبان
در هر دو کان راسته بازارش که بتار شعاعی آفتاب طنابی گردیده کار هزار سود
و سود راست آمده - وقاعدہ راستی و درستی باین مرتبه که کج بیعان از رستہ
راستی بیرون نتوانند رفت - چنانچہ آسمان از کمکشان میان در بندگی
خدا بنگان محکم کرده زمین نیز برفع رسانی کمر بسته - قنوی

ز بازار گلزار باغ و کن چرمی خواست بستان ملک این چمن
بطول مقالات ششید اینان بعرض خیالات سود اینان
زبس زیور و زیب رشک سپهر بروج و کاکین پیر از ماه و مهر
سیچشم سبزان رنگین نگاه بشور نمک از شکر باج خواه
بدل از رو دیده پیغام ده پیر از بوسه بهاس دشنام ده
بسوداے ایشان چو کوشید جان بیعاجلی رفت دل در میان
بسر عقل را داغ دیوانگیست بے حسن بازاریاں غلبت
ز اعجاز چشمان جادو و میرس ز عاید فریبان ہند و میرس
فتاوند در کفر صبر و تکلیب مذر زان کمر ہاے زنا ز زیب
رومایہ داران ایمان زنند بخروار نقد دل و جان زنند
سیر تقوی ہر گز کہ می کرد درد ہم از مهر شان صندل آلود کرد
از الفت فزائی و وحشت زدائی و انس گزینی و دلنشینی چہ توان گفت -

شعر
مگر خاک آدم ازین خاک بود کہ کرد پیشش ملائک سجود
(۱۸)

برایوان کند چون سلام آفتاب کشد ابرو طاق بار جواب
 بهر شش زمین دامن بر نشانند ز کزیش دعوی بکسی نشانند
 اعلیٰ و ادانی نیز بتقلید ہم در ارتفع و استحکام عمارات رفعت راسر فزانی
 و متانت را سنگینی دیگر داده اند و در بالا بردن کلخ و ایوان و قصر و منظر و پینها
 از برداشتن مصالح آنقدر به تفاقت داده که پشت گاو زمین از سنگینی و گرانی پست
 و بلند گردیده از کثرت بنا و وسعت فضا در هر خانه محله و در هر محله شهرے۔
 در هیچ کوچه پانہ نہند کہ از موجب رطوبت رود سرد تر از سرمایان در بحر حصول
 بغل نشانند ہند۔ ہر چیز بمقتضای طبیعت خود کامران و کامیاب است۔
 حسن در آن شوخی و خود نمائی عشق در مین بیباکی و رسوائی شوق را بگریبان
 درمی پنجہ درکار۔ صبر را بہ رفوکاری عقدہ ہزار۔ صومعہ ہزار و نئی میکدہ ہا۔
 شینان در مریدی زندان۔ دکان سود در بازار تجارت بہ نشوونما۔ سپر کیل
 ز رشکریان صرف مراعات احوال رعایا۔ مثنوی

ندارد غم از اہل آن شہر بہر طلسمی ست در دفع غم ہائے دہر
 مصنوعات از ترکستانہ گزند کہ دار در قافایتش کو چہ بند
 سر کوے غنیاگران زہرہ خیز نسیم در و بام شان نغمہ بیز
 درع بستہ تار آواز شان نہائی ز خود گوش بر ساز شان
 بہر گام سر بر فلک غرق زہر غرق در طرغی طرفہ
 زہر بیجاک مو ہاکہ در پاکشند دل اہل نظارہ بالا کشند
 گرفتہ پتہ کار خود ہوا موس سر کو چہ عاشقے بے حس

شهریست که لاله گرم خون می‌رود از دیده گزگش فسون می‌رود
پاس بکشتا سیر صحرا و بدین کز شب بزم حسن عشق چون می‌رود

سخن آرزو دارد که بکشت تعمیر کند کاخ خود بحر شهر نوریس پور در کام
وزبان خانه کند و از بیم دراز نفسی در مصالح بنای کار آوردن کوتاهی
می‌کند - اگر شهر واری گل تعریف در آب نگیرم محله واری را خود چه منع است -
شرط اجمال گفتن بر نگفتن غالب آمده گوشنیدن شکوه تفصیل ناشنیدن مکن -

رباعی

این شهر که آرایش هفت اقلیم است عشرتگد شهر یار جم دیهیم است
مصریست که بر مصر تفوق دارد آئے آئے کیوسفش ابراهیم است
حبشه اشهر کی هر روز آفتاب جهان تاب محازات دولتخانه پادشاهی را بیت اشرف
خویش می‌داند و در گرد و رونی گچکاری در و دیوارش که آوازه صبح فردشاند
تا شام به رومال زرتاری افشانند - عالمی را امید واری که جهان بکشد
جان نوی یافته - زمین را اگر در سجده شکر بر جبین که مرادش خوبتر از آنچه
در دل بود برآمده - عرض و طولش باقی چنان قرار نداده که آسمان بهر حجت
خراشی بگردش تواند گردید - اگر در خورشید خست خود می‌فرمود غاک کرده ارض
گل یک ششش می‌بود - نظم

شدست آنچه واقع بدامان کوه بر آورد سر از گریبان کوه
زمین آسان منظر از منظر شش در فتح بر ملک باز از درش

و مگر و حرب حاصل اجناس ده و مزرع انبار کام و زبان بطلبیہ ہنس
 پیشگان خصوصاً کچنیان یعنی اہل اصول و نعمہ در اطراف و اکناف جہا
 می گردند ہر کرا و فرین خود ہمارتی و در علم خود شہرتی بودہ سرود گوینان و
 رقص کنان براہ افتادند۔ و در نورس پور کہ مکان تازہ بہت مسکن مقام
 مقام شناسان ساختہ و پرداختہ اند چندان فراہم آمدہ اند کہ تفرقہ روزگار
 عجب کہ بر کثرت ایشان جمع پریشانی تواند بست۔ و ازین بار بدتر ادا
 نکیساتبار کہ گوش بقلعہ شاگردی و جبہ بہ سجودہ استادی رسانیدہ اند
 و بہ آواز رشتہ بر پاس بلبل می بندند و بہ رخسار بر شگفتگی گل می خندند۔
 صاحب کمال و صاحب جمال انتخابی ہمیشہ بر سیم کشک بردر کرباس
 گردون اساس پاس وقت می دارند۔ و از ہاے و ہوس گویندگان
 صدائے در گنبد افلاک نہ پیچیدہ کہ اگر خاموش شوند شنوندگان از
 استماع نعمہ محروم گردند و از جوش و خروش سازندگان درختان قصی
 بر نہاشتہ کہ اگر بہ آواز پاس نشینند برگما از دستک زنی باز مانند۔

رباعیات

از زمزمہ پیر برگ و نو آگشتہ جہان درج گہر صوت و صد آگشتہ جہان
 بیگائد دل شدند ہمماے کس تا نغمہ نورس آشا گشتہ جہان

ہر گوشہ لوائے عشرت افراشتہ اند در تن بہ نغم ترانہ جان کاشتہ اند
 طفلے کہ بجلس جود آمدہ است کامش بشراب نغمہ برداشتہ اند

نوازش طرغ در گوش حاضران کشیدہ - مثنوی

بمضربش سسرت گشته تا ساز تنالہ پیچ گوش از بخت تا ساز
چو لب مست ترغم گوش ہر کس شراب کمنہ گوئی نقش نورس
نفس را جان بہ تن از نغمہ او پئے ہر زخم مرہم زخمہ او
نفس در نقشہ اش تا نگردید ز حرف سادہ رویان و انگردید

رباعیات

نقشہ عجی شاہ برا نگینہ است صد ز مہمہ در ہر نفس آویختہ است
کف غنچہ کنی پراز گل نغمہ شود از بس بہوا نغمہ در آویختہ است

گاہے کہ بجلوہ نغمہ شاہ رود در مغز دل غافل آگاہ رود
از کام و زبان سطرین تادرجو بر فرق شنیدن ہمہ جارہ رود

شادابی جان ز نغمہ تازہ اوست مالیدن گوش ز ہرہ اندازہ اوست
ز انسان کہ سبا تحت سلیمان ہی بردوش نفس سریر آوازہ اوست

ہم شور ترانہا و شکر گوش ہم پاکی گفتیا او گو ہر گوش
ز نغمہ علم گشت بہ مالگیری ہم ملک زبان گفت ہم کشور

چون قاصدان خجستہ پئے چرب زبان نقود ہیمان بحر دکان بار دوش

عجز بوعلی و داستان قدرت خود به ترانه بعالیمان می شنوایند - اگر به نغمه پردازی
 زبان بدعوی اعجاز کشایند به تصدیقش عوض زبانها گوشه‌ها به آواز درآیند -
 میفرمایند دست که حرکتش با اصول بر نیامیخته شایسته یاری نخته و سینه که
 نفسش به نغمه در نیامیخته ساز نیست تار گسیخته - بلبل که یکے بوده بزم بزم را
 گردیده زیاده اش از سمرغ می شمارند - و قمری را بهمان ساده خوانیش
 بر نقش پر طاوس ترجیح میدهند - جمله متفق اند که فلک بدورے از ادوار
 مثل خواجه عبدالقادر نیاورده - از تصنیفاتش معلوم نموده اند که از وعاجز
 تری نبوده و باینهمه پرکاری هیچ نقش این کار نداشته - به الفت اوستادی
 سر نیز حرکت اعصاب و جوار را بضمیطه شهنه اصول و آگاه داشته و به شفقت
 شاگرد پروری در مکتب همد بر گریه و خنده اطفال معلم آهنگ گماشته -
 ناخن زنی زخمه در عقده کشائی زبانهاے گنگ چرب - و نرمی اصول در
 روغن مالی دستهاے شل قرب - در رقص اگر شاخ دست بپیرایه اندازد
 صبا مخاطب است و اگر در اصول برگ کف بجائی برزند شمال معاتب -
 شور انگیزی زمزمه زبان ماتمزدگان را از نو بر آورده و دلکشائی ترا
 بهاسے در بسته را به تصرف خود در آورده - تا استنباط لغات از حرکات
 گردون کرده اند برگردون حنجره غلطی - این روانی ساخته و بر صفحه ساده
 آواز نقشه باین پرکاری سپرداخته - از تکرار فقرات و مبالغات و زلفات
 ذوق و شوق بطریق تضعیف بیوت شرط رخ در ترانید و ترقیست الحق
 در معاطه نغمه و ساز عجبی عجیبی به گوش رفتگان رفته و روزگار حلقه

ریحان کاکلان در قفا خاریدن - از تبتیم دندان سین یا سمن را بدندان بگلگیر
لب پنهان و از افتاد حلقه با سر چاودقن بسیر خط خفس پوش و صفهای
مژگان با وجود بر هم زنی عالم زیر و زبر گشته زیر و زبر اود - و خال خود عشق
نقطه داغ سوخته که مرهم کافور در راند اخترن سیاهیش سفید تواند گردید -

رباعی

خطش نگذشت در عهدنا چینی هر نقطه آن نافه مشک آگینه
برقع بر رخ ز تار و پودنگ است می گشت و گریه خط پرستی دینه

قطعه

حبذا فیض تعلق معجز کلاش نگر
گر رود صد ساله رویش نظر باشد همان
تا ز گیاه رقم بین کز حروف چشمه دار
چشمها در مرغزار صفه با بینی روان
گر خطش را با خط یا قوت بنجیدم به سو
یک بدخشان لعل معنی دادم اینک ترجمان
برد بان حرف گیران قفل لب ماند که هست
دل نشین هر قطره اش از نقطه خاطر نشان
چون دوات از مهر کلکش پُر نباشد به چنین
کاین چنین شمع نباشد هیچک در دودمان
با وجود این همه فضل و کمال جلد را فرغ و موسیقی را اصل میدانند و قصه
(۱۲)

سعی اینقدر می نمود هر آئینه در جبهه بجز تر نخواهند بود - از زبان سحر بیان شنیده شد
 که در وقت مشق ساز بسیار بود که هنگام نشستن آفتاب نشسته زمانی برق افتاد
 که تا ر شعا می خورشید بر تار طنبور تابیده - مصرع
 هر کارش قیاس سعی زمین گیر

در فن تصویر از مصوّران آنقدر ممتاز است که خود از خوابان - گاهی یک
 آئینه در برابر نهاده بشبیه کشی خویش پردازد اهل شقائق و سفید آب نسرین
 بهم بر آمیخته رنگ جهره سازد - اهل معنی اگر بفتوائے انصاف صورت پرست
 شوند عجیب نیست - اگر بیکل پیل بر پشه کشد و پیکر فیروز در دیده موز نگارد
 بزور قلمش یک بر گوشت زمین خرطوم چو کان سازد و دیگر به انداز کوبان
 گاو آسمان پنجه باز د - مفت مانی و بهزاد که باد را ک زان نش نجات و
 انفعال نکشیدند و گرنه چه رویا می ساختند - یاقوت و صیرفی نیز اگر می
 چون و او سر پیش و چون نشین عرق بر جبین می نمودند - قلمهایک قلم خط
 بسر خود داده اند که اگر تیغ محرق بر تارک خورند پاد را و انحراف ننهاد
 سر بر خط دیگر ان نه مند - طائوس قلمش بر فرق لفظ و معنی چتر افراخته و
 به نشان پاساز و اثر و نقطه دام و دانه هفت نگاه ساخته جمیع که از شکوه
 سر لوشت نیاسایند سطرش بر جبین چسبانند تا در سجده فکر زمین فرستند
 مدادش از دووه چرباغ خورشید ست و قلم پاک کنش از مرغوخ طره
 ناهید به نقشه خطان را در مشاهد منسل زار خطش طرف کاری افتاده -
 ز موزوتی جلوه الهب قدیمش و قاتمان در خمیدن ست و از دنباله میم

از گستردن بساط شطرنج انبساطی تمام است - و دور بینائی که پائے این کا
گرفته اند بهزار جہد و جہد پیش اندوہ دوازده بازی ندیده اند - و در رساله مذکور
منصوب بهاست که سی بازی و چهل بازی از روی ہمدگر چیدہ شدہ است اگر
حافظہ خلق را تاب برداشت بودی و از سنگینی شمار دوش از تیر بار نہ نزدیک
چہ جائے و فائن عشرات کہ تقدیر خزان مات والوف درین معاملہ بکار رفتی
و ازین تصرف کہ بعد از تمام شدن منصوبہ و الزام حریت نکلات باقی ماند
شکل مدور و مربع و دشن یا مسدس باشد عقل او ستاد این فن ماست
رہے فکر و خیال - مثنوی

فیلبند خیال شاہ مگر	کرد ملک امین از عراے خطر
فرز را ز استقامتش خرداد	رنده کرد دست کجروی ز نهاد
دیر بردن بہ رخ ز رخ را باز	بیدارش اسپ گیر و فیل انداز
ز دشمنان ز خصم پڑ مردن	با صفت از حریت زو بردن
چون بعد رخ بازی انگیزد	مفت بردار بقائی ریزد
بیست جم و نہ نجلتہ می برد	شاہ رخ کو کہ شاہ رخ می خورد

رباعی

پر فکری شاہ فکر را کام دہد رخ طرح بشطرنجی ایام دہد
منصوب بدین عرصہ کہ چیدست چنین کردل برد آرام و دلارام دہد
اگر کرشمہ از فضایل اکتسابش نیز کفہ شود بے فائدہ نخواہد بود طالبان
کسب کمال چون بدانند کہ با وجود شغل جہانداری و نماز و نعم پادشاہی
(۱۵)

ہمہ بریک وزن اولیٰ میدانند خصوصاً در رباعی و این موزونیتی عظیم است۔
 و حروف و کلمات و سلاست چنان مخرج آشنا و نفس رباعی باید کہ دیر خوانند
 گفتند بزود خواندن طلاقت مبدل گردد و راہ شست و بر خاست و تقدیم
 و تاخیر الفاظ و انشود۔ و کشادن و بستن آہنخان کہ چون قافیہ و بحر معنی بخاطر
 خامان برسد و لفظ ہائے بحر ہم نشینند و بکار ہائے مردم می آمدہ باشد
 چہ بخواندن و چہ بنوشتن۔ و در مناسب خوانی ندیمان را پیرایہ باشد و در عا
 نویسی و پیران را سرمایہ۔ و ملاحظہ این ہم می نمایند کہ مدات و وائر در براب
 ہم طراحانہ و نقاشانہ واقع شود کہ خوشنویسان ہی خواست ہرزانوے قطع
 نویسی نشستہ برائے شعر خوش ترکیب گرد و کتابا نگارند۔ و رعایت کار موسیقان
 نیز میفرمایند کہ در کار عمل نفس و صوت تقسیم کلمات و نشست فقرات ہمراہ
 آہنگ و اصول بموافق ضرب و نطق افتد و باوجود این ہمہ تکلف بے تکلف
 و آمدنی باشد نہ پرداختنی و سافعتنی۔ ارباب فکر و خیال میدانند کہ این
 تلا شعا حد کسی نیست و نخواہد بود۔ مصرع

فطرت شد و راے فطرتا است

و اگر کہے را درین افکار انکاری باشد بمطالعہ رسالہ کہ در منصوبہ شطرنج مختم
 زدہ کلک اقدس گردیدہ حقیقت حال معلوم کند۔ چون انہیں کشو کشایان
 و رزم مشق رزم کردن و حریفان را بہ پیش بینی پس نشانند و دعا بازان
 را و واسپہ پیاسے فیل بات و وائیدن و در علاج فرزین نہادان رخ
 نہ راستی نہادان و از تند ہیر عراے عربدہ جو یان عاری نبودن طبع ہایوان
 (۹)

اکنون مرده مردی را که از سخنورش سخن کند - متلع سخن را اگر چه مشتریان
 مایه دار هستند اما فکرهای خزانگیش از آن قیمتی تر است که در جیب خرد و خور
 دان بیعانه اش باشد - در غنیدن اشعار و در نثارش زبانها همه گوش و در
 خواندن ابیات آبدارش گوشها جله زبان - شعری را بمناسبت شعر او اوجی
 رونداوه که فلک بهر اردوره یک حسیض برایش تواند آورد - تنگی متن و پیش
 با وجود وسعت شرح بکاشیه کشادگی گفتنش محتاج - اگر از بزم می نویسد صفحه
 از فقط زهره خیز است و اگر از رزم می گوید مرتخ از بزم زهره - نیز - روشنی
 تقریر در نکات بمشابه که تاریک همان را جز فهمیدن علاوه نیست میفرمایند
 که اگر نقلی محتاج به تکرار شود قایل زود فهم بنارسانی خود و ارسا اگر چه
 سامع دیر رس باشد - و همچنین اگر پیش از تمام شدن سخن سر رشته
 فهمیدن بدست نیاید سامع بفکر ناتمامی خود افتد اگر چه قایل ثر و لیده
 بیان باشد - و آنچه در شعر و شاعری مرعی می دارند اندازه میچک نیست
 نابوده و نخواهد بود - میفرمایند که غزل از بیت پر کن خالی باشد و
 معنی مطلع بلندی را مقطع گردد تا آنکه مافوق آن متصور نباشد و تا آخر
 غزل هر بیت از بیت دیگر برجسته تر و نمایان تر باشد چنانچه اگر برگردد
 صدر آن طرف باشد و در آن هم سخن عشق و عاشقی خنج شود و مواظ
 و نصائح در دیگر اقسام شعر درج گردد - و در هر چه که بنیاد کنند اگر فراق
 باشد و اگر وصال در همان تمام کنند - و یک بیت سوختن و یک بیت
 و اسوختن نباشد - و اگر بلفظ تقفی باشد معنی مرده بر گوش خورد و قولی

باز گذاشته و حیرت تفرج خرامش کبک را از خرام باز داشته -
 پاکشادگی رویش از شگفتگی صبح تنگ پیشانی چه کشاید و پیشش
 بالای بلندش جلو و سرو کوتاه قد چه نماید - هیچ مرغی نه پرد که از
 پر خود نامر بدامش نه برد - آبله که عکسش در آن افتد مغان را
 مهر آتش بر آن افتد - تماشای مهر رخسارش موسم بهار دیدن و
 سماع گفتارش فصل نیسان شنیدن - ابروان نجسته کلید
 درهای بست - نگاه سعادت افزای همایون تراز سائیه های -
 شیرینی تبسم نمک خوان تکلم - شوی

مهرس از رخ بهشت دیگر است این	مگواز قدس بهشت دیگر است این
بمهر این کار را هر روزه کرد است	از صبح این صفادریوزه کرد است
دگر خود را ندید آنکس که دیدش	برای دیدن ایزد آفریدش
کشاده هر درے نور و زو عید	جمینش را بکف ز ابر و کلید
پایش سایه از بالای شمشاد	فقد در بلع زان بالای آزاد
ز حرفش گوش رشک طبله شد	لبش در شیر شکر کرده در مد
زرنگش ارغوان در غازه کاری	ز بویش نستر در تازه کاری
سواد خط بهاد گلشن روے	بیاض گردش صبح شب موس
کهن گرد و نگه نوکن بردیش	خوشت ناید چمن بنشین بکوبش

سحاب از بحر چو دشن گریزدم بجای سبز و روید عشرت جم
 پئے دانگے سر گنجے کشاید چو سایل دید با خود بنیاید
 بکین خواهی مدارش تعلل تحمل چند صد چند ان تحمل
 به لطفش می سیار و قهر خود را که بر دشمن نریزد هر خود را
 اگر گامیش باید عقد بست نباشد بر کشاوش جریج راست
 فلک گرد صد گره بر هم نهادست به ایام سر انگشته کشادست
 نپوید گر کس راه رضایش برایش اژدها گرد و عصایش

ارباب سیرت از وصف سیرتش سرمایہ اربابیت برده اند
 اہل صورت نیز بحرف صورتش پیرایہ الہیت می خواہند۔ اینجا
 معذرت عجز مسموم نیست صفت جمالش چراغ شبستان فکر باد
 تارہ بجائے توان برد۔ مطلع را طالع جہانگیریت کہ مشرق صفت
 آفتاب طلعتش گردیدہ و مبتی را بخت رعنائیت کہ بر تشبیہ سرو قاش
 علم بر کشیدہ۔ بیدار بختی کہ پیوستہ از افسانہ عارفش دیدہ را آب
 دادہ۔ مردکش گردالش خورشید در خواب زیر سر نہادہ۔ بالفرض
 اگر شبہا مشعل خورشید می بود چون شمع تنک پر تو در برابر ماہ این نمود۔
 از رشتہ شعاع خورشید رخسارش دام بہاف و طولی ماہ و نور ی
 آفتاب را در قفس کن۔ در باغ و بوستان بہ تماشای سرو و گل
 اگر سروکاری باشد از رخسار و قاشش لگوے تائیکے از شرم در زمین
 فرو نرود و دیگرے از تاب غالت آب نشود۔ گوہر دعویٰ پاکی بکلامش
 (۶)

بر پنج برق کشند - طراوت ابرهای سیراب تشنه مزرع هواواران و شعله
 بر قهای جانسوز سوخته خرمن فتنه کاران - آبا و امهات به پرواز
 نتایج در شفقت پدری و مادری - و طبایع و آثار برمسند فرماندهی در
 فرمانبری - روز و شب کان از نقب چشم براه است که زر چه مبلغ
 در کار و سال و ماه بحر از صدف گوش بر آواز که در چه مقدار - پیکر کرم
 تر از داز زر و گوهر برداشته و بخیر دلهادر گنجینه باز گذاشته - وعده را
 عهداً بروفا تقدیم نداده که انچه از باب خواهش بر بند بجز و انتظار حساب
 نکنند - نال خامه اش ستون بنیان بر و احسان و شکن نامه اش
 مسکن درستی عهد و پیمان - جبهه پادشاهی در موج خوسه خجالت کشیدن
 علامت حاصل دریا و کان بگداختن - سران را علاج در دسیر
 نخوت خاک پایش طلا کردن و خصمان را دارو و خورده کینه سینه
 به محبتش دادن - کاریست بکرشمه تصرف بگمان را شکار خود کردن
 و بخلق خوش شمیم دشمنان را بنده دوستی ساختن - دوستی در آفرین
 دوستانست و دشمنی در نفرین دشمنان - مشغولی

دعایش ز سبب هر لیل و نهار	برای خلق پیدا گشت کاری
به برج پادشاهی ماه دیدند	بمعنی و بصورت شاه دیدند
ز آزادان به بندش هر که افتاد	پسند حق پسندش هر که افتاد
بخون گریش نازان مهربانی	ز احیا کرد گانش زند گانی
زدلها کرد بهیرون کینه بار	در آسایش نهاد و سینه بار

ثریا در سپند سوزی ایوانِ رفعت - عطار دور منصبِ دوات داری
 چون قلم انگشت نماے اقلیمِ شهرت - برق سنان آفتِ خرمن آفتابِ
 خندانِ مرغِ کمانِ متابِ شمشر - سرتک مغزان امانت بگرزِ گران -
 خدنگش سالکِ مسالکِ راستی گزینان - کمانش پشت پناه چلہ نشینان -
 ازین سبب کہ مالگیری بہ تیغِ مستلزمِ فتنہ و فسادِ خونریزِ بیست بہ آوازِ
 مرثمت و مکرمت و بصیتِ نصف و عدالت توجہ بہ تسخیرِ جهان گماشتہ -
 و بتوفیقِ الہی عصمتش پاسِ عرضِ اہل دیارِ بعضِ دیوار ہاے
 سنگیں کو سہاے آہنین برافراشتہ - و در ایامِ خیر انجامش شررا
 چہ یار اکہ ہنگامہ شوری بہ بند و - و بہین ضعیف نوازشِ سیلے را چہ
 زہرہ کہ بر خشک گیا ہے زورے کند - در گرفتِ رنہ فسادِ آتش و باد
 و خاک و آب را گل ساختہ - و بسترِ آسایشِ کبک و تیمواز سینہ باز
 و شاہین انداختہ - بہ پروردنِ صعوہ چنگلِ عقاب آشیان است
 و بہ شیردادنِ برہ ناخنِ شیرستان - شبانان بحرفِ معدلتش
 در دہان بندِ گرگان نوشتن - و بدتخانِ بحاصلِ سالِ نو کاہ کہنہ
 بہاد وادان - بروے ظالمِ زادگان گردیتیہ نشستہ و ناخلفان را
 فلک بفرزندی برداشتہ - تا شمیمِ چینِ مویشِ نسیمِ ازدکن بہ وطن
 نمی برد آہوانِ آن سرزمین لبِ بچرا نمی کشایند ازینکہ حرف
 کم نکہتی بر نافہ نیاید - اگر قرصِ زرا از کانِ پختہ بر نیاید خورشید را
 در تنورِ شفق نہند و اگر دریاگو ہر شاہوار بر نیارد ابر میسان را

و بر کنار خوان احسانش استخوان راز که بری مغز بردوش - در سرستان خاطر
 پر مردگان به آبیاری ملاطفتش خرمی اردی بهشت و خوراد پر بار - و در
 کارخانه کسوت عیش پوشان بسرکاری ملایمتش مصالح خرد و پرنیان در کار -
 مصرع تعریف و قارش تا با توصیف کان سخایش مصرع نیاید سخن بموز
 نگراید و نامه غورش اگر بعنوان قدرش معنون نگردد و مضمونش جز بردوش
 قارون بار نکشاید - خطبه را از شرف نام او پای دست نداده که چوب سدره
 و طوبی آله منبر نشود و سکه را نقشه بکسی نه نشسته که زر رتو نام قیصر و خاقان
 نکند - چنانچه غبار رزمگاهش اکسیر فتح و نصرت است - خاکروبه بزمگاهش
 نیز کیمیای عیش و عشرت - کدام روز است که فرآشان از یختن گلهای سینه
 برابر پشته صبح تلهای بر نیارند و از بخور مجرب با نکتت جیب هوا عجب است که تا دامن
 محشر را با گلاب بنارند - و از نقش پای هر کس نشان انچه در دشته برداشته و ادھر
 پیشانی ارتقا آفتاب نظر تها گرفته - اگر خورشید ترنیتش مرما بد نه مشک
 بهو رسد و نه لعل برنگ - اگر مصلح مصلحتش نباشد نه صلح کار سازد نه جنگ -
 بادیکه بر خلافش بر خیزد زودش بر خاک نشانند و آتشی که غضبش بر فروز
 آب روغن بران ریزند - بازوے قدرت باشعنه قدر در پهنج گیری
 و بادست توانا از دستبرد قضا و ربقت پذیری - در شفاعت سیاست
 بجای هر دشت برد بان قضا - خوان مکرش را همین تنگی زمین - سپهر
 حمایتش را دامن فراخی آسمان برین - از آلابی بساط نیشان معروف
 بپاک گوهری و از ادانی ساط خورشید مشهور بکیمیا گری - کیوان بجوهر حقه
 (۳)

دیدہ وراز کحل خاک مقدم او آفتاب
 بیہ و در زیر داغ سجده او آسمان
 میفراید اہل عرفان را لقائے او یقین
 میدردار باب خواہش را سخاے او گمان
 سیر تر دارد طبع را ہمتش در قحط سال
 سبز تر دارد چین را التفاتش در خزان
 گفتش افراسیاب تیغ گشتم منفل
 خواندش نو شیروان عدل داوم تر جان
 در گمان بگذشتہ گر بر کشت زارے گلہ
 شمعہ تحقیقش آوردہ پئے شان یگان
 باب خصمش اگر باشد دہان خندہ باز
 دشنہ بر بندہ بخش شاخ و برگ زعفران
 از براے چشم نصرت در سر بازار رزم
 باد گرزش می فروشد تو تیاے استخوان
 نیستش نویغے جزا و بیگانہ گر بیندش
 گشتہ بر ہر کس بقدر ہمت خود مہربان
 زہے حشمت کہ اگر از حصار ہمتش آسمان را بر جے خوانند فلک را
 پایہ باشد و نخے شوکت کہ اگر در حساب ہمتش عمان را در جے شمارند دریارا
 آبروئی گردد بر سر میدان جالانش بدر را از ہلال حلقہ نعل یکران گوش

نثر سوم خوان خلیل

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

اے از تو براہلِ تخت و اخلیلِ سبیل
گر ذکرِ جمیل است و گرفتِ رُجلیل

نطق از تو بہمانی اربابِ خرد

انداختہ خوانِ سخن از خوانِ خلیل

شکرِ موبہتِ جلیلِ کہ ابراہیم کیے از پیشکارانِ خوانِ خلتِ اوست چہ
اندازہ شرح و بیان۔ و بیانِ محمدتِ محمود کیہ حضرتِ محمد مصطفیٰ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم
دراد اے شنائے او بجز اعترافِ نمودہ چہ یار اے کام و زبان۔ اولی آنکہ
از ریاضِ مناقب آلِ اطہار و اصحابِ اخیارش خصوصاً بہارِ ریاضِ ولایت
علی مرتضیٰ علیہ التیمۃ و الثنا کہ کلامِ معجزِ نظامش تحتِ کلامِ خالق و فوق
کلامِ مخلوق است در یوزہ گرمی شلخ و برگِ سخن نمودہ نورس مراد از
ہنالِ شنائے دار اے کاملِ خسروِ عادلِ بر چندی۔ قطعہ

داورِ عادلِ لقبِ دار اے ابراہیم نام

کعبۂ اربابِ ایمان قبلہ اہلِ زمان

APPENDIX C

Part III.—*Khān-i-Khalīl*

OR

The Table of the Friend of God

APPENDIX C

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE, AND THE MERCIFUL

THE THIRD PREFACE

THE TABLE OF THE FRIEND OF GOD

O God, it is from Thee that the possessors of thrones and jewelled crowns have received their fortune; discourse whether it is in soft words or dignified tone, originates from Thee. The faculty of speech has with Thy aid set the table of *discourse* of this preface entitled 'The *Khān-i-Khalīl*' for the entertainment of the wise.

To offer thanks for the grand gift of the Almighty Who has chosen Abraham for one of the servants of His table of friendship, is beyond all possibility of expression and statement; and to sing the praise of the All-praised Whom our Prophet Mohammad, the Elect, himself could not sufficiently eulogise, but on the contrary, confessed his inability to do so, is beyond the power of the palate and tongue. So it would be better if, having begged a few leaves and branches (material¹) from the garden of the praise of his holy progeny and the virtuous companions, particularly of 'Alī, the spring of the garden of *Divine love*, may blessings and praises be showered upon him, whose inspired utterance is below the word of God but above that of His creatures, I should pick up the fresh fruit of my desire from the tree of the praise of the perfect and the just Emperor.

¹ شاخ و برگ : Branch and leaf : here means material for this Preface.

Qut'a

He is a king with the title of the Just, and of the name of Abraham; he is the *Ka'ba* of the faithful and the *Qibla*¹ for the people of the age. The eye of the sun is bright from the antimony of the dust of his trodden ground; the forehead of the sky is extensive under the spot of his prostration.² A glance at him enhances the faith of the seekers of divine knowledge; his bounty smashes the estimates of the people who desire (*i. e.*, gives far more than the expectations of the needy). His magnanimity allays greediness in the year of famine more than is ordinarily possible even in harvest; his care and attention keep the garden in Autumn fresher than in Spring. I was ashamed to call him the *Afrāsiyāb* of the sword; I paid a fine for styling him the *Naushīrwān* of justice. If a flock of sheep in imagination, passed over a corn-field, the watchman of his investigation, did, at once, track out its pace. If the laughing mouth opens its lip with that of its enemy the branch and leaf of the saffron tree lift up their dagger for shedding its blood. The wind of his mace sells collyrium of bones for the eye of victory in the market of battle. If a stranger should see him, he would feel that he had no relation except him; he has shown kindness to every one befitting his own greatness.

What a glory and honour it would be for the sky if it were called a tower of the castle of his loftiness; and what a dignity it would be for the sea,³ if in comparison with his magnanimi-

¹ **قبلة** : Synonym for the *Ka'ba*, the sacred house built by the Prophet Abraham, at the command of God. Here, the centre of hope.

² That is, the sun is an eye which owes its light to the dust under his feet, and the sky is a forehead bowed down in prostration to him.

³ **بحر** : The Gulf of Oman, a part of the Persian Gulf. Here, used in general sense meaning a deep sea.

ty, it is counted as an empty casket. In his race-course, the full moon has in its ear a ring of crescent from the shoe of his horse; and at the table of his benevolence, the bone has the refuse of marrow on its shoulder. In the garden of the drooping-spirited, the bloom of the months of April and May,¹ through the watering of his kindness, is in exuberance; and in the cloth-manufactory, the wearers of coarse cloth, on account of his mild administration are seeking materials for silken clothes. Until the hemistich of the praise of his dignity is modulated with the praise of the mine of his bounty, the discourse does not look harmonious;² and if the writing of his deliberation is not headed by the title of his dignity, its contents will not be intelligible to any one but Croesus. His sermons owing to the dignity of his name are so exalted that they desire to have the wood of the *Sidrah* and the *Tubā*³ for their pulpit (the sermons bearing his name are so sacred that the pulpit from which they are to be delivered desire to be made of the *Sidrah* and the *Tubā* wood.) His coin has been stamped with such impression as is likely to cause the currency to strike out the names of the *Kaiser* and the *Khāqān*.⁴ Just as the dust of his battle-field is the elixir of victory and triumph, so also the sweep-

¹ اردی بهشت و خرداد : Names of the second and third Persian Calendar months corresponding to English months April and May.

² That is just as a single hemistich for want of rhyme does not sound well, so also his praise without the praise of his bounty would be defective.

³ سدرة و طوبی : Names of the trees growing in Paradise. Hence their wood is regarded as sacred and precious.

⁴ The title of the emperors of Greece and China. The author means to say that the coin, bearing the name of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh is so popular that it makes us forget the names of such illustrious emperors as the Kaiser and the Khāqān.

ings of his banquet-house are the alchemy of festivity and luxury. What day is that when the carpet-spreaders, by their incessant scattering of scented flowers, do not amass heaps equal to the expanse of Morn.¹ Of the incense of his censers the pocket of breeze is so full that it will be strange if the clouds do not rain roses till the approach of the day of Resurrection. From the foot-prints of every one he can trace what is in his head (*i.e.*, discover his thoughts); and by the astrolable of the forehead he can find out the height of the sun of men's nature. If the sun of his patronage does not shine neither musk can acquire smell nor ruby colour. If the world be deprived of his sound statesmanship, neither peace is possible nor war. The wind that blows against his will is soon made to sit on dust (is doomed to destruction); and the water poured on the fire lit by his wrath would only serve as oil.² With his powerful arm he can grapple with the Kotwal of Destiny, and his strong hand defies even the hand of the decree of Fortune. In interceding for the wicked, to shield them from due punishment, the seal of his terror is on the mouth of Fate.³ The table-cloth of his bounty shrinks owing to the narrowness of the earth, and the shield of his patronage has the expanse of the lofty sky for its skirt. From his bejewelled carpet the cloud of the month of *Nisān* is full of the purest pearls, and from the cups of his dining table the sun has learnt alchemy. Saturn fumigates the wild

¹ The morning which is so vast that it spreads throughout the whole Universe, is, here, compared to the heaps of flowers.

² That is, it would make the fire burn still more fiercely.

³ That is, he is so terrible in punishing the wicked that even Destiny cannot open its lips to intercede for them.

⁴ Name of the seventh Syrian month corresponding to the English month, April, during which rain drops are said to produce pearls.

rue of the jewels in the box of the Pleides to protect the palace of his sublimity; Mercury, being his ink-bearer, has earned a name like pen in the realm of Fame. The lightning of his spear is a disaster for the granary of brilliant sun. The armour of Mars is no better than linen against the moon-light of his sword. The head of the shallow-brained is entrusted to the feet of his frightful mace; his arrow is the guide of the path of those who take a right course; his bow is a support of the recluse. As the possession of the world with the point or the sword is attended by riot, rebellion, and bloodshed, he has thought of conquering the globe by the proclamation of kindness and generosity, justice and equity; and by the grace of God his royal dignity, having paid due regard to the honour of the inhabitants, has raised iron hills in place of stone walls. In his days of happy end, what power can *Evil* have to create a tumult of disturbance? Through the felicity of his support of the weak, the flood has no courage to oppress the dry grass. For the suppression of disturbance he has compounded fire, air, earth, and water; and he has spread the bed of comfort for the partridge and the quail on the breast of the hawk and the falcon. For the nurture of the chaffinch, the claw of the eagle is a nest; and for giving milk to the lamb, the claw of the lion serves as a teat. The shepherds, by talking of his justice, are busy in writing out charms to shut the mouths of the wolves; and the wicked are labouring in vain to reap the fruits of the new year. The dust of orphanhood has settled on the faces of the tyrants and the sky has adopted the parentless children as its sons. Until the fragrance of the curl of his hair is carried by the breeze from the Deccan to Khutan, the deer of that land do not open their mouths for grazing, lest their musk-navels be blamed for scentlessness. If the disk of gold does not come out from the mine in a perfect state, they place the sun in the oven of evening twilight (to torture it); and if the sea does not produce pearls fit for a royal crown, they place

the cloud of *Nisān* on the branding-iron of lightning. The moisture of the watery clouds thirsts for the sown-fields of his well-wishers (i.e., eager to rain in the fields owned by them); and the flash of the soul-melting lightning is in passionate love with the granary of the rebellious. The contents of the upper and lower regions,¹ in nourishing the offspring, show parental affection; and men's natures and past glories, on the carpet of rule, are obedient to his orders. The mine is looking from a hole, day and night to find out how much gold will be required (by the King); and, year by year and month by month, the sea, with its ear of oyster, is keenly attentive to know in what quantities it should need pearls. He has lifted up the scale of the balance of his bounty full of gold and jewels; and for the purchase of the hearts he has left the door of his treasury open. Of set purpose he has not given promise precedence over fulfilment, so that the needy, whatever they get from the king, may not credit it in their account, on account of the trouble of long waiting.² The fibre inside his pen is a pillar on the foundation of Generosity and Kindness; and the fold of his letter is the resting place for the fulfilment of promise and contract. For the royal forehead to be covered with the sweat of shame is a sign of conferring on the beggar the produce of the sea and the mine.³ The haughty should

¹ According to Philosophers the Universe includes the skies, and the four elements: fire, air, earth, and water. Whatever relates to the upper region is called the *ġā* (fathers) and that to the lower region the *umh* (mothers) and the rest of the creation *natij* (results).

² That is, gifts are purposely given by the king after long waiting and worry, so that the people may not feel the brunt of obligation that they are under.

³ He gives enormous wealth to the needy but still feels ashamed of his bounty thinking that he has given very little.

rub the dust of his feet on their foreheads to cure themselves of the headache of pride; and his enemies should surrender their hearts to his love to obtain medicine for the leprosy of their malice. To fascinate every one with a twinkle of the eye and to make his foes the slaves of his friendship with his sweet-scented politeness is but an easy task for him. His friendship is busy in making friends, and enmity in condemning enemies.

Masnawī

Prayers for him are an ornament to every night and day; a work has been furnished for the people to perform. In the tower of his kingship they beheld a moon, and discovered a sovereign both in form and in deed. Whoever falls into his slavery is a free man; whoever is humble is approved by his just approval.¹ Kindness is proud of his warm intercourse; life is among those brought to life by him. He has driven malice out of the hearts of men; and set their breasts at ease. If the cloud carries moisture from the sea of his bounty, the festivities of Jamshīd will grow in place of verdure (i.e., enjoyment would become perennial like the growth of grass). If he is approached for a penny, he opens the head of treasury; on seeing a beggar he is beside himself (with joy). In seeking vengeance he makes delays; how great is his forbearance! It is a hundred times greater than you would suppose. He places his violence under the charge of his clemency, so that it may not pour its poison on his enemy. If ever he ties a knot the sky is unable to untie

¹ If the word حق be treated as a proper noun meaning 'God' and not as an adjective qualifying the noun دوست the meaning would be:

Whoever is liked by him is liked by God.

it. If the sky effected a hundred knots, he disentangled it with a sign from the tip of his finger. If one does not tread the road of his will, one's stick becomes a dragon in one's way.

The possessors of inner worth have carried off a store of wealth by praising his nature. Those of outer worth (*i.e.*, of beautiful countenance) equally desire to pick up the ornament of capability from the talk of his handsome face.¹ The excuse of my inability to describe him is not acceptable here. So may the quality of his handsomeness be a lamp for the bed-chamber of thoughts so that the road leading to destination be traversed in its light. The opening line of a poem has had the good fortune to conquer the world, since it has become the East of the praise of the sun of his countenance; and the couplet was lucky since it lifted the banner over the simile of his cypress-like stature.² That man is of awakened fortune who constantly gives light to his eyes by the story of his cheek; the pupil of his eye has put the small round pillow of the sun under its head to go to sleep.³ Supposing that the nights were luminous like the torch of the sun, they would look like a feeble candle of faint light before the moon

¹ That is, possessors of beautiful countenance wish to add real charm to their beauty by talking of his handsome face, as if, to say, there was no charm in their beauty up till then.

² That is, the couplet which describes the stature of the King is very fortunate.

³ گرد بالش خورشید زیر سر نهاده: An idiomatic expression meaning to remain awake. That is to say the story of his beautiful face is so very interesting that far from exciting sleep, as is usual with the stories told at night, it keeps the audience awake, and their keenness to listen to it is ever on the increase.

of his face. With the thread of the rays of the sun of his cheek, plait a net, and entrap the parrot of the moon and the white partridge of the sun. If you ever happen to go to the garden to enjoy the sight of the cypress and the rose, do not talk of his cheek and stature, lest the one (cypress) should sink into the earth for shame, and the other (rose) should melt into water by the heat of bashfulness. The pearl has relinquished its claim to purity before his speech; and the charm of his stately gait has kept the partridge back from going a step further. Before the openness of his face what can be opened by the narrow-minded morn; and of what value is the splendour of the short-statured cypress before his lofty stature? There flies no bird that does not, on its wings, carry a letter to his net.¹ The fire of the love of a fire-worshipper falls into the water in which his shadow is reflected. The sight of the sun of his cheek is a spring for the sight; and the hearing of his speech is the crop of a sugar-plantation for the ear. His auspicious eye-brows are the keys of locked doors. His pleasure-giving sight is more blessed than the shade of *Humā*.² The sweetness of his smile is the salt of the table of speech.

Masnawī

Do not talk of his stature, it has quite a different nature; put no question as to his face, it is another paradise (*i.e.*, quite different from the beautiful faces ordinarily known). Morn has begged its brightness from him; she has been doing this with diffidence every day. God has created him for being seen; whoever saw him once did not see in himself again (*i.e.*, forgot his own self in total ecstasy). His forehead has the

¹ That is, falls into the net of his love.

² A bird of happy omen associated with the belief that the head overshadowed by it in its flight wears a crown.

key of eyebrow in its palm; it has unlocked every door of 'Id and *Naurox*. In the garden, the shade of the stature of *Shamshād*¹ falls down on his feet from that lofty height. His lip mixed sugar with milk in the cradle; through his speech the ear is an object of envy for the caldron of honey. With his smell the white rose is busy in manipulating freshness (*i.e.*, looking fresh); with his colour redness is occupied in preparing a cosmetic for the face. The whiteness of his neck is the morning for the night of his hair; the blackness of hair upon his cheek is *spring* for the flower-garden of his face. If you dislike the garden go and sit in his lane; if your sight has grown old make it new by looking at his face.

After this glad tidings be to one who talks (in praise) of his eloquence. Although there are rich customers for the commodity of discourse, yet his weighty thoughts are more valuable than there is earnest money in the pocket of the subtle intellect to buy them. To hear his verses, which deserve pearls to be scattered over them, tongues are entirely ears; and in reading his shining couplets the ears are entirely tongues. The *Sirius* on account of its analogy to his verse, has acquired such a dignity that the sky, with its thousand revolutions, shall not bring for it even so much as one downfall.² The

¹ The tree of *Shamshād* on account of its exquisite symmetry is regarded as the Queen of the garden, and is therefore by nature careless and little disposed to pay homage to any one, but even one such as that, is forced to make its obeisance to the king when he goes to the garden for his constitutional.

² All planets descend from the Zenith towards the Nadir according to the revolution of the skies. But the *Sirius* (شعرى) which is akin by reason of its name to the King's verse (شعر) is immune from that deterioration to which other planets are subject.

brevity of his subtle text, in spite of the copiousness of the commentaries, stands in need of his explanation to elucidate the marginal notes of the commentators.¹ If he writes of an assembly of entertainment, the page produces the planet Venus from his dot; and if he speaks of war, the gall-bladder of Mars melts away with terror. The light thrown by his speech on intricate points is such that even the dullest cannot but understand them. He observes that if a speech should need repetition, the speaker of quick perception, at once, ought to discover his want of competence in the matter of adequate expression, even though the hearer be of dull intellect; and that, similarly, if, before the speech is finished, the thread of comprehension is not grasped, the hearer, must, likewise, perceive his own obtuseness,² even though the speaker's mode of expression be a confused one.³ And what is observed by him in the art of poetry is not, was not, and will not be within the power of grasp of any one. He says that an ode should be free from superfluous lines, and in meaning the *Malla*⁴ should be the *Maqta*⁵, so that no loftiness beyond that might be imaginable; and from the beginning down to the end, each verse in the ode

¹ That is, the notes of the commentators on the margin of the book are short of their function, and until he himself explains the text, the meaning, owing to its metaphysical subtlety, remains hidden in darkness.

² In an old edition the word *ناتمامي* reads as *ناتمامي* (imperfection) which makes no difference in meaning.

³ In order to be entitled to be called 'clear' a speech should be understood without needing repetition; in order to be called 'intelligent' a hearer must follow the trend of spoken words even before they have all been uttered.

⁴ The opening verse of the poem.

⁵ The last verse of the poem in which the poet introduces his *nom-de-plume*.

should look more suited and appropriate than the one following it, so that, if the order be reversed, the last line may easily become the first and the best verse of the ode. The subject of such a poem should be love and affection, and counsels and exhortations should find place in other branches of poetry. And, whatever be taken as the basis of the poem, whether *Firāq*¹ or *Wiṣāl*,² should be maintained throughout. To have one line containing a heart-rending love and the other a heart-burning aversion is not proper. If the ode contains rhymed words, suitable meaning alone should strike the ear. Rhymes of equal measure are preferable everywhere, specially in a quatrain, in which the rhythm is peculiar to itself³; and letters and words in the construction should be so familiar to pronunciation and so adaptable to breath that the slowness of reading, due to stammering of tongue, be changed into quickness; and there should be left no room for alteration or placing a word before or after, and the expression and the lucidity should be such that the meaning too, like rhyme and metre, may enter the brains of novices; and the most appropriate words that may be of some use to people should be employed whether in reading or writing, and such as may prove ornaments for the courtiers on proper occasions of speech, and may also be a stock for the writers of the Royal court in writing out their notes. He also lays stress on the fact that the long curves of letters should be made with an eye to draftsmanship and the art of painting, so that the calligraphists readily sitting in the posture of *Qit'a*-writing, may not have to go round books in search of a model. He also instructs us to keep in view the requirements of musicians, and says that in the operation of

¹ Separation from the beloved.

² Union with the beloved.

³ *دایں موروثیے سعادت است*: Lit.: and this is yet another beauty.

breath and sound the division of words and the adjustment of phrases, in the balance of harmony and regulation, should be in consonance with the timing and pitch of voice: and notwithstanding all this fastidiousness there should be easiness and flow instead of affectation and artificiality. Men of thought and meditation know that such minute searches are not within the reach of any one else nor will they ever be.

Hemistich

The disposition of the King is above all dispositions (*i. e.*, more pleasing and attractive than that of others).

And if any one refuses to believe in this he can find out the reality by perusing the treatise on the game of Chess written by his most sacred pen. As it is customary with the conquerors of countries to practise war in peaceful assembly, to push back rivals with foresight, expeditiously to make the deceitful take to their heels by the checkmate of *Bishop*, to take straightforward steps to remedy the crooked nature of the vicious, and to remain well-informed of the tactics of the enemy, the blessed heart takes immense delight in spreading the chess-board. And in spite of a thousand efforts, even the cautious players, who are devotedly in love with it, have not been able to play more than ten or twelve games at a time, while in the aforesaid treatise there are plans according to which even thirty or forty games can be arranged and played simultaneously (*i. e.*, one single individual can play games against 30 to 40 players at a time without the least chance of any flaw in his manoeuvres). If the memory of the people could have the power of endurance, and bear the weight of calculation on their shoulders, the cash of the treasures of hundreds and thousands of plans would be forthcoming under this head, to say nothing of the treasure of tens (*i. e.*, 30 or 40 moves as suggested in the treatise); and these with such skill that at the end of each of the tactics and the defeat of the enemy, the remaining units should form them

selves into circles, squares, octagons, hexagons, a feat which has checkmated the intelligence of the masters of art. What an excellent thought and meditation !

Masnawī

See the Bishop-decoying plan of the King ; he has made the country secure against danger. With his straightforwardness the lathe has scraped away crookedness from the nature of the Queen. The door of victory over the *castle* of the enemy is open to his castle ; his pawn is the Knight-catcher and the Bishop-feller. It is for him to bloom and for the enemy to fade ; for his rival to lose and for him to win. If he plays the game with *Jad-Rakhsh*¹ the latter, gets off scot free if he quits the game drawn. *Jam* is not alive or he would have been put to shame ; where is *Shāh Rukh*² that he should acknowledge his defeat ?

Quatrain

The thoughtfulness of the King gives palate to sound thinking ; he plays chess with deceitful *Time* at the shortage of one *castle*. Who has matured such a plan on this plain ? He takes away comfort from his heart only to give it back to that of his subjects.

If even an atom from the excellence of his accomplishments be described, it would not be altogether useless. The seekers of perfection when they knew that so much efforts were shown by him despite the engagements of administration and the enjoyment of royal pleasures they would certainly strive more

¹ Name of a famous player at the game of Chess. The meaning is that even an expert like him would thank his stars if in playing with the king he escapes defeat.

² Name of another expert in the game of Chess.

than ever. It has often been heard from his miraculously eloquent tongue that in the days of practising music it frequently happened that he sat down at sunset and rose up (as late) when the wire of the sun's ray shone on the wire of the *lambour*.

Hemistich

Judge of his zeal in every action from this example.

In the art of painting he excels the painters in that he is one of the fair. While placing the looking-glass before him he paints his own picture, he prepares a rouge for his face by mixing the redness of the tulip with the whiteness of the narcissus. It is no wonder if the pious become image-worshippers by the mandate of justice. If he paints the huge body of an elephant on the feather of a gnat, or draws the picture of a tiger on the eye of an ant, the one (*i.e.*, the elephant), through the skill of his painting, makes his trunk a polo-stick on the ball of the earth; and the other (*i.e.*, the tiger) grapples with the bull of the sky to attack on his haunch. Thanks to God that *Mānī* and *Bihzād* have escaped scot free since they have not lived in this age to bear the shame and ignomy, else they would have felt ashamed of their art. Also, if *Sairafī* and *Yakūt*¹ were living, they, too, would have their heads bowed down like the letter *ج*, and their brows wet with the sweat of shame like the letter *ش*.² The pens have one and all written a bond on their foreheads to the effect that even if they were to receive a blow from the sword of an enemy on their heads they would never swerve from his (the King's) allegiance, and place their shoulders under the yoke of others. The peacock of his pen has erected a canopy over the head of the word and

¹ Two expert calligraphists. The former lived in the time of *Musta'sim*, an 'Abbasid Khalif. The latter came after him.

² The dots over the letter *ج* are here compared to the drops of perspiration on the forehead.

meaning, and with its foot-prints has made a bait and a net for the bird of sight from the curves and dots of his writing. Those who are in constant trouble owing to their ill fortune paste a line from his writings on their foreheads (to become rich) to bow in gratefulness. His ink is from the smoke of the lamp of the sun and his brush is from the curls of the locks of the Venus. The violet-haired are astonished to see the garden of spikenard in his face. Before the symmetry of the splendour of his stature of the *Shamshād* is bending low; and before the curl of his م the hyacinth-haired feel ashamed. At the smile of the teeth of his س the teeth of the jessamine are hidden under the lips of its petals; and before the fine shape of the hoop of his ه the head of the dimple of the chin (of the beautiful) covers itself with the verdure of the soft hair; and the files of their eyelashes, in spite of their being so deadly as to cause a wholesale disturbance in the world, are themselves rendered topsy turvey by his vowel marks; and the mole itself, being in love with his dot, has burnt its body so terribly that the scar left on it cannot again be rendered white (healed) by even camphor paste.

Quatrain

His writing¹ has left no wrinkle on foreheads, every dot of it is filled with the odour of musk. The veil on his face is made of the warpings of sight, otherwise the worship of soft hair would have become a religion.

Qit'a

See the miracle of his pen, what an attachment it has; even if it traverses the distance of a hundred years' journey, it is

¹ Mark the play on the word *lata* which also means a letter or writing. The soft hair on the cheeks are, here, represented as *lata* by reason of the common attribute of blackness.

still before the eyes. Look at the freshness of his writing that from the eye-like letters (such as *ط* and *ص*) you will see fountains running over the meadows of pages. If by mistake I compared his writing with that of *Yakūt* I had to give a *Badakshān*¹ of the rubies of meaning as a penalty for this misnomer. There is a lock of lips on the mouths of the critics; since every dot of his is heart-bewitching. Why should not his ink-pot be so full of love for his pen, since no such candle lamp has ever been seen anywhere in a family.

Despite all these excellences and perfections he treats all his accomplishments as the effect and music as the cause (*i.e.*, principal accomplishment), and the story of the incompetency of Avicenna and the tale of his own mastery, are carried to the ears of the people of the world through song. If he opens his lip to claim a miracle in the art of singing, ears begin to speak instead of tongues, to bear testimony to his claim. He calls the hand, which does not move on a fixed principle, a fruitless branch; and the chest, whose breath is not associated with melody, a musical instrument of broken wires. The single bird nightingale became *Hazar* on account of its chant, and is considered superior to an ostrich. The turtle-dove on account of its very simplicity of speech is preferred to a peacock of resplendent feathers. All agree that the sky in none of its revolutions could produce a musician like Khwaja 'Abdul Qādir, but from his works it appears that none was more incompetent than he, and, for all his skill knew not even the rudiments of the art, (*i.e.*, he was but a novice). Through his love for mastery he has placed the movement of the limbs of the

¹ Name of a city in Khurāsān famous for its rubies. Here stands for 'plentifulness.'

old and the young under the care of the *Kotwāl*¹ of principle; and with his affection for training his pupils in the school of their cradles, he has appointed the teacher of harmony for the cry and laughter of babies (*i.e.*, in his time their cry and laugh are not without harmony). The finger playing with plectrum, is greasy in untying the knots of the dumb tongues; and the softness of the principle is busy in rubbing oil over the paralytic hands. If there is any deviation from the right path on the part of the branch, the Zephyr is admonished (why it did not train it properly); and if the leaf claps its hands against principle, the northerly wind (which opens buds and refreshes hearts) is chastised. The sound of melody has driven out waiting from the tongue of the mourners, and the exhilarating influence of melody has brought the closed lips under its control. Ever since songs were elicited from the motions of the skies, such an easy-flowing trill has not been heard from the throat of the heavens; and on the blank page of sound so excellent an impression has never been stamped. From the repetition of the rhythmic phrases, and the high pitch in songs, the love and fondness of listeners are always on the point of increase like the doubling of squares on a chess-board. Indeed in the matter of song and melody the ears of the dead have suffered a mighty loss, and the times have put an extraordinary ring of favour in the ears of those living.

Masnawī

Since his musical instrument has been transformed into joy, through his plectrum, no ear listens to the bewailings of

¹ A police officer of the rank of a City Inspector. What the author means to say is that the King being an adept in the art of music, the whole country is replete with harmony, so much so that even the involuntary movements of the hands and feet of the people are on some principle.

عل Tired or fatigued.

ill-fortune. Like the lip the ear of every one is intoxicated with song as if the effect of *Nauras* is nothing less than old wine. Through his song the body of *Breath* is diffused with life ; his plectrum is a healing balm for every wound. Until breath was employed in singing his composed songs, it did not produce any attraction in its words about the fair.¹

Quatrains

What a charming music the King has invented ! There are a hundred chants mixed with every breath.

If you shut your palm like a bud, it would be filled with the flowers of song ; the air is so immensely replete with music.

When the song of the King goes out for a walk, it passes through the brain and the heart of both the careless and the careful.

From the mouth and the tongue of the musicians to the ears of the audience, it travels constantly over the head of the sense of hearing. The freshness of life is from his fresh song ; he alone can pull the ears of Venus.

Just as the wind carried aloft the throne of Solomon,² so, also, the throne of his (King's) fame is wafted on the shoulders of breath. Even his saltish chants are sugar for the ears ; and the purity of his speech is a pearl for them.

From him *Song* raised a banner for the conquest of the world ; he captured the realm of the tongue, also that of the ear.

¹ The author means to say that the words of him who does not sing the verses from *Nauras*, can produce no charm when they are employed in the praises of the fair.

² It should be noted that the throne of the Prophet Solomon upon whom God bestowed unparalleled kingdom and wealth was wafted in the air on the shoulders of geni.

As the happy-footed messengers of sweet tongue roam about in all the corners of the world with the purses of the sea and the mine on their shoulders and round their waists, and the promises of the payment of the proceeds of villages and fields heaped in their mouths and on their tongues, in search of the skilled professionals, especially the maidens of the art, that is to say, the masters of the theory of music, every one who has got practice and acquired fame in his profession gladly accompanies them. And in Nauraspūr, a building has been newly erected and furnished for the residence and accommodation of the expert musicians. Of these so many have thronged that it would be strange if even the disturbance of times could fix a rent roll of dispersion on their abundance (*i.e.*, even time cannot scatter them); and of the individuals descending from the family of *Bārbud*¹ and the tribe of *Nakisa*,² who have put in their ears the ring of his pupilage, and made their foreheads to bow down to his mastership, and who with their voice tie the feet of the nightingale with a piece of thread³ and who with their cheeks laugh at the bloom of the rose, some nine hundred choice masters of perfection and beauty always stand as sentinels at the court of the King's palace of sky-like foundation. And with the clamour of the singers, the dome of the sky is ringing with such echoes that the hearers will not be deprived of songs even if the singers cease to sing; and with the tumult and noise of the players on musical instruments the trees set up such a dance as will not make the leaves cease clapping hands even if the foot stops keeping time with the sound.

¹ Name of a famous Persian musician, native of Jahram, a town near Shirāz.

² Also a musician.

³ That is to say, they are so sweet-voiced that the nightingale of a thousand notes is caught in the net of their melody.

Quatrains

The world is saturated with melody and all its requisites ; it has become a casket for the pearl of the sound and echo. Old sorrows have become strangers to the heart ; since the world came to be acquainted with the song of *Nauras*.

In every corner the banner of festivity and rejoicing has been raised ; life has been sown in the body with the water of melody. The child who has newly come into the world of existence has had its palate raised¹ with the tune of song.

It is a city where the tulip grows warm-blooded ; from its narcissus-like eye magic comes out. Put your foot in motion for a walk into the forest and behold how love springs out of the dew of beauty.

Discourse is eager to erect a dwelling in the palate and tongue with a description of the city of *Nauras* in order to make its old palace habitable, but shows slackness in furnishing itself with the building-material for fear of prolixity. If I cannot undertake to praise it as befits a city, there is no obstacle in the way of my doing so, at least, as befits a quarter of a city. Since it is better to say something than to say nothing at all, tell the faculty of hearing not to complain of the want of hearing (*i.e.*, listening to the King's pre-eminence).

Quatrain

This city, which is an ornament for the seven Empires, is the pleasure-house of a monarch with the crown of *Jam* on his head. It is a city which claims superiority over Egypt, aye, its Joseph is Abraham (Ibrāhīm).

What an excellent city ! Every day the sun, the illuminator of the world, looks upon the suburbs of the Royal Palace as

¹ It is usual for nurses to raise the palate of a new-born child with finger soaked in honey.

its bright mansion, and sweeps the dust, settled on it, by the tumult of the advent of morning from off the whitewashing of its doors and walls from morning till evening with the kerchief of the threads of its golden rays. The world is full of hopes to see that the old world has got new life. The earth has the dust of the prostration of gratitude on its forehead for the better fulfilment of its desires.¹ Such a length and breadth has been given to it by the founder as will not allow the sky to revolve round it without a scratch.² Had he ordered it to be built to befit his pomp and glory, the soil of the whole globe would then have made only a brick of clay.

Poem ,

Though it is situate at the foot of a mountain, it has put forth its head from the mountain's collar (*i.e.*, its height excels that of the mountain). If you look at it, the earth appears as high as the sky; if you look at its door it would seem as if the door of victory is thrown open on the country. When the sun salutes the palace of the king the brow of the arch bears the burden of a reply.³

¹ The meaning is that the earth is grateful to this newly-built city, the cause of gratefulness being that the latter has brought with it greater joy and perpetual peace and prosperity on earth.

² That is to say, it is so nearly equal to the sky in dimensions that the latter by coming in contact with it receives a scratch.

³ That is, the palace is so dignified that in reply to the greetings of the sun it only makes a sign with its brow, and even that most unwillingly, as it is not infrequently done by great men in reply to the salutations of men of inferior rank.

The ground drew its skirt away from the Ninth heaven,¹ it established the integrity of its claim by reason of the elevation of its plinth.

The high and the low have, likewise, in imitation of him, given durability and elevation to their buildings; and with the erection of mansions, halls, and other massive buildings, the ground is so much pressed down by the weight of materials that the back of the cow supporting the Earth has bent and become uneven. Owing to the multiplicity of edifices and the extensiveness of court-yards there is in every house a quarter and in every quarter a city. Whatever street you step in, shrill singers, with the aid of the current of the moisture of the stream of melody, swim in the sea of principle. Everything according to its nature is prosperous and successful. *Beauty* is in bold display; *love* is in total fearlessness of ignominy; fond desire in tearing the collar has its nails always at work;² and patience in darning patches gets knots in the thread; cloisters have the bustle of taverns; the pious are the disciples of drunkards; the shop of profit in the street of merchants is thriving; and the shield of soldiers is devoted to the care of the subjects, since it is employed in giving money to them.³

Masnawī

Grief is contributed no share by the people of that city; it is a *talisman* for the driving away of the sorrows of Time. It is secure against the inroads of plunder, because prosperity

¹ That is, it did not like its association with the Ninth heaven on account of the latter's obvious inferiority.

² It may also mean that fond desire (or madness) to tear open the collars is seeking nails.

³ What the author means is that soldiers in other countries are generally hard-hearted and given to plunder and loot, but here they are exceptionally humane and help the poor with money.

keeps the streets thereof blocked. The corner of the musicians' lane produces Venus; the breeze of their door and balcony is replete with melody. Piety is bound up with the wire of their voices; inwardly it has its ears on their musical instrument. At every step there is a window with its head reaching the sky; at every window there is to be seen a wonder. The curly locks hanging down to the feet of the beloved, draw the hearts of the onlookers upwards. The greedy lover is after his own business (in putting forward his claim for love); the corner of the lane of love-making is without a Police Officer (*i.e.*, unobstructed). If, in the course of conversation one talks of home, the tongue wails with the pain of exile.¹

The door of every shop on the road leading to the market, which appears to be a tent through the rays of the sun, is a scene of much profit and transaction, and the law of straightness and upright dealing among the shopkeepers of that place is so keenly observed that the dishonest cannot go astray from the right course. Just as the sky has girt up its loins firm in servitude to the king, by wearing the belt of the milky way, so also the Earth has tied its waist (*i.e.*, is ready) to benefit the people. What did the country garden want from the rose-market of the Deccan? It wanted this garden: the city of Nauras. It compares in length with the speech of the ardent lovers, and in width with the thoughts of the lunatic. In consequence of the excess of elegance and beauty it is an object of pride for the sun; the towers of the shops are filled with the sun and the moon (*i.e.*, handsome shopkeepers). The black-eyed sweet-hearts with their charming looks require sugar to pay tribute to their saltishness (*i.e.*, their saltish beauty is sweeter than sugar itself). They

¹ That is, the strangers live so comfortably in this city that the talk of home pains them.

send the message to the heart through their eyes (*i.e.*, they give looks of love); their abusive lips are full of kisses. When life tried to purchase them, it lost its heart as earnest money in the bargain. The head has a burn of lunacy; yes, the beauty of the common folk is full of chastity. Do not ask me of the miracle of those magic eyes; put no question as to those pious-cheating infidels. Patience and endurance have thrown themselves into infidelity; God save us from those cord-bound waists. They waylay the stockholders of religion; they rob ass-loads of the cash of heart and life. The head of piety, whenever it ached, it applied the sandal of their love to the brow.

What can be described of the increase of affection, the wiping away of grief, the sway of fascination and the allurement of heart.

Verse

Maybe the clay of Adam, before which the angels prostrated themselves, was from the clay of this land.

It behoves the affluent traders to carry this holy soil to Persia and Turkistān as their merchandise, so that, in the event of the ravages of plunder and devastation, a plaster of this soil may be prepared for the repair and rebuilding of the ruined hearts and deserted chests. If it is applied to the eye as antimony whatever will germinate from the earth till the day of resurrection, shall be visible.

Poem

What an excellent soil, the augments of good fortune, if a crow rolls on it, it becomes *Humā*. Its dust which gives polish to antimony takes precedence over collyrium. The breeze has received fragrance from its dust; it seems as if it has thrust its head into ambergris.

*Tayammum*¹ with it looks so fresh-faced that even the nectar is ashamed of making ablution with water. The purity of its breeze is such that if I give it preference over the air of Paradise, the gatekeeper of heaven would, at once confirm the breath of my statement. Lovers who come to this place empty their heads of their beloved's affection and fill it with the air of this place, and until they become the wellwishers of this land success does not very well attend to their object. Air worship is deprecated everywhere, but here it is appreciated.

Poem

It is a breeze from which the water of life trickles down; they press but once and a hundred lives ooze out. The breath, when it is spent in praise of this city, becomes the nourisher of the soul; purity has got a robe of honour from it. The Eastern and Northerly winds are of the breath of Jesus, on account of their passing through this town; temperance is one of those nurtured by it.

Its water like wine, washes the dust of sorrow from off the face of the heart; with its moisture the soil of the body grows fibres of health instead of grass. If the fish of its fountain were thrown into the nectar it would tumble down at several places when moving on its body on account of the pain of separation from the former; and whenever the Messiah wanted to quench his thirst he let down into it the bucket of the reflection of the sun. The nectar does not weigh itself with it for fear lest on account of its extreme heaviness it should become ashamed of itself.²

¹ Rubbing the hands and face with clay by way of ablution when water is not within reachable distance or its use is deemed injurious to health.

² If the word *ان* refers to the water of the city of Nauraspur and not to the nectar, the meaning would be :
The nectar does not like to weigh itself against it for fear lest on account of the latter's great weight it may prove light.

Poem

If the lip of a gimlet were wetted with this water, the brilliance of the pearl would be put to shame.

It so washes the rust from off the care-worn hearts that the lips of the stream become rusty. The sun cannot draw its reflection back out of it for all the ropes of rays it has employed.

May the pleasure of walking in the
garden and grove be the lot
of his companions and
friends.

The ground of its green meadows with the exudation of dew has turned into an ideal ground. Through the kindness of the soil of Nauraspūr they carry the old turquoise-stone to Nīshāpūr, and under the shade of Narcissus and red rose there are heaps of scents and mounds of tints diffused into one another, and the well-wishers of the cypress (*i.e.*, the doves) and the bablers of the rose (*i.e.*, the nightingale) are seen wings interwoven with wings, and voice reverberated by voice. Breaths are intoxicated with the talk of the wine-cup of the narcissus, and the sight is tinged with the observation of the colour of tulip. With the robust growth of trees the autumn receives a slap (*i. e.*, is disgracefully pushed back); and with the fruitfulness of the branches, the spring is benefited.

Masnawī

They are trees that have never seen the face of the autumn; all are young like the hopes of the old.

Through the weight of the fruits the aspen-tree of that land has laid its head on the ground to bow in reverence. Through the north wind the jessamine-flower looks sprightly like a moth spreading its wings over a candle-lamp. On the branch the mango rolls over the leaf with coquetry like a parrot spreading

its wings in the cage. Its tree is so attractive and heart-ravishing that the wind beats its breast with a stone (*i.e.* completely enamoured of it). Freshness has wetted it so much that the sun slipped under its shade. Wrinkles have disappeared from the brow of the leaflet; dew has fallen on the back and the face of the leaf. In every direction with the tillage of morning the air of paradise is blowing gently in profusion. Whether it is evening or fore-noon, the air, on account of mirth, resembles the morning breeze, and all verdure is dew-sprinkled. The body of the parrot through continued cries got tited; she is seeking to have its wings from the verdure.

At his imperial command they have brought the seed of eloquence and fluency from Arabia and Turkistān, and the grain of knowledge and art from Persia and Khurāsān, and have sown them in this holy land, and raised a good crop by virtue of the richness of the soil and the nature of the climate. Greece, if it were not in water,¹ would have been in fire on account of its jealous heart.

Quatrain

Be sure of good luck in this city; be the pearl of reality for the sea of outward form. In every art be ever progressing, on account of the geniality of its climate without undergoing the trouble of practice.

What an excellent master of mature judgment and embellisher of a country he is, who, by laying the foundation of this city in the Deccan, has made it the object of pride for 'Irāq and Khurāsān. It is customary with the seekers of praise that they, sometimes, by talking of the sword sharpen the sword

¹ It is a common belief that a Province of the ancient Greece owing to the abnormal degree of wisdom of its sages once challenged the authority of God and was consequently cursed and sunk under water.

of speech on the whetstone of the tongue, and sometimes with the description of the hawk let fly the hawk of discourse in the hunting ground of meaning, and sometimes by praising the motion of the horse take out the horse of their genius from refractoriness; so I thought why I should not enhance my position and nearness to the king by speaking of the favourites of the royal court. It further occurred to me why should I not open the door of good fortune to my luck by talking of those who stand at the foot of the imperial throne. Such worthy friends are many. If God wills, a separate Memoir of the dignitaries will be written. At present I make my tongue and palate happy by speaking of some of the servants of this great Empire and the courtiers of the king. To assign to the sublime names of these grandees, who adorn the page of assembly, their respective places, is not within the power of the writer. The king has put them all in positions, most pleasing to himself, or, rather, in some instances, owing to excessive affection, has given them precedence over his own person.

Hemistich

I am proud of these just and frank-hearted aristocrats.

The first is the gracious Nawāb Shāh Nawāz Khān, of exalted position, who has been highly honoured with this title by royal favour, and on account of his exceeding love for the country, and experience of work, holds the rank of 'Jumdat-ul-Mulk.' In protecting cities and benefiting people he excels all. It is patent to all that his glory and greatness are not the result of any lucky stroke of chance, but are exclusively due to his own intrinsic merit and worth.

Masnawī

The overwhelming favour of the king graced him justly; the president of the assembly (i.e., the king) discovered the

possessor of the worth.¹ Religion and the country are under his protection; the tower of the fort of the empire is firm through him. The world has not a single soul like him; go round these seven empires and satisfy your mind. There is no minister equal to him in the whole world; whatever is done contrary to his practice is not law. Where has the sky the requisites of greatness? Even if it had them, where are such refined manners? When he writes a threatening letter the pen in his hand becomes a two-edged sword.

In priority of service he is ahead of all, and exceeds all in weightiness of faith. He has made his proud head reach the sky, and it behoves him; and against superiors he is ornamented with superiority, and it befits him. In addition to the inborn capacity, by virtue of which he has from his very boyhood upper hand in every branch of knowledge, he has no respite to wipe off sweat in the acquisition of attainments and in the securing of perfection and diligence. He is so near quick perception that with the slight motion of the pen of swift-writers of high penmanship it is quite easy and convenient for him to discover the subject-matter. Even before the entrance of breath in one's breast to utter a speech he finds out what word will it mould, and, also, what meaning it intends to convey. His quick wit of ready reply has made all eloquent speakers to confess the dullness of their speech, and his sharp criticism makes

¹ **خور** = Sun. It is also used in the sense of 'worth' or 'merit.' Hence **صاحب خور** = master of the sun or merit. But if read as **خود** (with the suffix **د**) it would mean 'one's own.' Hence **صاحب خود** would be equivalent to **صاحب خود** i.e., his own courtier. In this sense the meaning would be:

The king appointed him to be the President of the ministerial assembly.

people of robust intellect to admit their ignorance. If, when an insoluble question is put to him, he has ever to contemplate a little, the reason is that owing to a host of ideas, he is at a loss to know with what reply he should open his lips.

• His speech has made the hard workers in the science of Mathematics lie at ease (*i.e.*, in mathematics he is so expert that he has, with his speech, already solved all difficult problems so that its students need take no extra pains for their solution). From the physiognomy of faces he can tell about the past, the present, and the future. On the table of his speech the sweetness of the bag of sugar fills the mouth of the colocynth; in his balance of calculation the bisection of the globe of the earth is as trifling as a seed of grain or mustard; with the firmness of his judgment the sight of the axis-observers has become a levelling-rod; and compared with the excellence of his politeness the robe of honour of the wearers of brocade is no better than a mat. To the horse of his sense of honour the veins serve as a whip for scamper (*i.e.*, when his sense of honour is touched he becomes excited so that his veins are swollen); and to the tree of his magnanimity the leaves serve as a palm for scattering gold. The nearness of his plan to rightness is the nearness of light to the sun. The distance of his view from fault is the distance of the west from the town of *Khatā*¹ (in the East). In his peace-treaty the letters and words embrace and hug one another in one garment; and in his ultimatum for war every line is a file-breaking soldier. The noose of his thought is made of no ineffective threads and his kettle of thoughts has not the broil of imperfectness. The straightness

¹ Name of a town in Chinese Turkestan famous for its musk-deer and arrow. Note the suggestiveness of this word which also means 'fault' or 'mistake.'

of his pen is such that if any one talked of him in *Wāsit*,¹ the pen would not again take a cut (*i.e.*, need not be mended). The rightness of his comprehension is such that if Maulā Ma'nawī² were living he would not have composed this verse: "People are in sad want of right understanding; what I say is in proportion to your capacity of grasp."

His clay and air (the two elements in his constitution) never lay dust on the heart of any one (*i.e.*, he does not cause grief to any one). Water is one of the thirsty, and fire one of the novices. God had made him so rich in himself that his only want lies in the contraction of brows which he has to borrow from others when indignant. Nothing held its passage over his heart (*i.e.*, his mind never felt inclined to a desire for anything) but that it got its object. Some may suspect that in consequence of the excess of favours and kindnesses I may have exaggerated the laudable actions and praiseworthy qualities of the king, but I fear lest a majority of them who are well aware might think otherwise: they may say why should not one, who cannot do full justice to his praise, make a confession of his own helplessness (*i.e.*, incompetence) from the very beginning? Thanks to God that he has been honoured and exalted befitting his worth and position, and the Emperor who appreciates merit so lifted him up from the ground that in *Nauraspūr*, owing to the loftiness of the bed-chamber of his palace, the earth has become a prop for the sky. His balcony of lofty foundation is so high that if the

¹ Name of a town in 'Irāq, the reed of which is so fine that pens are made out of it.

² Surname of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī the leading Sūfī poet of Persia, who is regarded as one of the greatest moral and spiritual teacher of Islām. The above verse is reproduced from his *Masnawī*: the most famous Sūfistic poem that exists in Persian language.

vapours of the seas did not intervene, the people of Persia would count its steeples from the new roof erected by him. Its portico is so extensive that Speech, with all its length, cannot cover its courtyard. If the shade of its weightiness casts itself it will make the back of the cow of the earth a boat.

Quatrain

A high-minded never builds a low house; such a foundation is laid by none except one having as vast a palm as the ocean.

The cow and the fish both have clamoured that the edifice is very heavy, it is feared that the earth might sink down.

The more his rank and position are elevated the kinder he is to the people. The different sections of people especially the foreigners in the Deccan, are the most unjust and ungrateful if they do not make their hearts the home for his love, and devote their tongues to praying for him.¹ Since he has sown and is sowing the seed of love for all in the spiteless breast of the king, and with the sweat of labour in rendering useful services to the public he has preserved the honour of all and does preserve it.

Poem

He learnt from the sky the way of service; he did whatever the heart of the King wished him to do.

Hereafter if he is called the chief of the physiognomist it is just, since he has served the king who knows the secrets of the heart. The critical judgment of the king has increased his value and position; he has tried him in the forge of pain

¹ وقف : Exclusive reservation of a thing for a definite purpose by virtue of a legal decree. Generally it applies to setting aside a portion of one's estate or income for religious purposes.

and pleasure. All orators acknowledge the excellence of his speech ; he has explained what even the faculty of speech was unable to do. No one has so picked up the flowers from the garden of Mathematics as he ; he has unravelled the mysteries of the stars and the skies (*i.e.*, he is well-versed in both Mathematics and Astronomy). I cannot conceal him from the notice of the public ; he has done me all that could be done through magnanimity. If he has, with his correct sight, looked at a grain of sand, he has carried it to the sky with the arrow of sight. The pen, which is a burglar into the treasury of the mysteries of meaning, has done what it could possibly do at a signal from those fingers. The great quote him as an authority in action and in speech, arguing that he has said so and done so (*i.e.*, the actions of the great men are guided by his conduct).

The second is Khuddām-i-Malikul Kalām :

Hemistich

Who is able to say what he himself is.¹ From the balcony of discourse the drum of his being a *Sāhib* (*Qirān*)² has sounded in his name ; and from the appearance of his Canopus-like speech the leather of tongues received colour. The dazzling flow of his composition has a brightness from the blackness of which the note-book of morning is prepared ; and his pen of bold composition is from a forest where lions lose heart. The rhymes which had hitherto been oppressed (*i.e.*, improperly used by poets) are done full justice in his poetic collection of just foundation ; and with his flowing genius whose slave is the fatigued sight, he is seen in conversation everywhere.³

¹ That is, although it is not within one's power to describe one's own self, yet he can do it.

² One born under the auspicious conjunction of Jupiter and Venus. It is the recognised cognomen of Timūr.

³ If the word *ج* is read as *ج* in the sense of 'pearl' the meaning would be :

The pearl of word is seen lying everywhere.

The sellers of inferior goods have no capital and power to open the shop of finding fault with his merchandise. His musk is from *Khutan*, and his cornelian is from *Yemen*. A singer of love-songs of whom *Love* itself is enamoured, and to whom *Beauty* remains indebted! A composer of odes that if even kings wish that their names should take seat on the thrones of the tongues of people, they should scatter pearls and gold over him (so as to induce him to kindly mention their names in his composition to perpetuate their memory). The pearls of his meaning are from the sea of Spiritualism and the gems of his words from the mine of Materialism. The pinnacle of the ninth heaven which is frequented by his flight throws back his comrades' imagination. Opulence picks up victuals from his poverty (*i.e.*, though outwardly rich, he is in reality living a life of a monk). He is an ointment with the comfort of a wounded heart (*i.e.*, he serves as an ointment for those whose hearts are wounded, but himself enjoys the comfort of a wounded heart (*i.e.*, glad to suffer pain for the sake of others). Do you make out what I mean? And who is the person of whom I speak?

Masnawī

What an noise of fame of the Qum¹ who adorns the assembly of the seekers of Divine knowledge! He was an ocean even at the time of his being a drop (*i.e.*, in his early childhood he was endowed with the wisdom and knowledge of a sage divine). A king by name who has for his kingdom the empire of Word; the consolation of hearts gushes forth from the motion of his pen. If the words look like pearls it is from his casket; if they appear like the sun it is from his mansion. When he places his wine-jug the sky serves as a cup; when he takes to seclusion the tongue stands as a guard at his door. He never gave a smile from his lip over an aggrieved face (*i.e.*, never laughed at the distress of people); on the contrary he has shed many a

tear. He so rubbed off the rust from the mirror of the eye that he saw the colour of smell and smelt the colour. Such an acute genius is rare of whom word and meaning are both proud. No face is more prominent in discourse than his; he dives into every word a hundred times. He carried the ruby of this mine in such a way as could enable him to show it at any time. He brings out speech from the marrow of the heart and the soul, and again introduces it into the heart and soul of his audience. Ay, the word as it rises up from its seat comes back to its seat again.¹

The third Hazrat Shāh Khalilullah :

who keeps the tenderness of the beloveds' hearts under the monopoly of his miraculous pen. People of delicate fancies who know the beauty of eloquence as *Suls* long to speak *Nasta'liq* with the tongue of his pen. In the art of penmanship he is so expert that the reverse of the saying "writing is half knowledge" can prove its truth vehemently and not inadvertently.² People are so much absorbed in seeing his writing that the thought of separation³ from their beloveds has become an old story to them (*i.e.*, they have quite forgotten their beloveds and do no longer feel the pinch of

¹ That is, the word, when it comes out from his brain and enters into that of his audience, does not passively remain at that level, but ascends to its original height again.

² That is, he has made writing so perfect that it is no more considered as half knowledge.

³ The original reading is *فراق*, *i.e.*, 'separation,' but if it is read as *فروق* 'brow' or 'forehead,' the meaning would be that the forehead of a beloved has become old and devoid of any charm.

their separation). In truth this writing bears no comparison with that writing (*i.e.*, the downy hair on the cheeks of the beloved) since oldness is an ornament¹ to the former and a defect for the latter. Upon one who did not read the alphabet of the elements of the *royal constitution* (*i.e.*, did not see the beautiful stature of the king) the aptitude for reading the book of his own build did not become bright (*i.e.*, he could not understand his own *self*). With the moisture of the fountain of his pen what beds of violet he has grown! and with the sweetness of his writing what plentiful sweet smiles he has given to letters, The eye of the on-lookers fixes itself on his writing in such a way that, when retiring, the eyes are still attracted by it.² His writing looked so thin that it seemed as if a book was written on every page thereof, but in reality it was so bold that it could be read on the forehead of the sky. Through the augustness of his pages the omen taken by all consulters is according to their desires, and on account of the length of the tongue of his pen the tongue of all

¹ مفردات : Also means units and detached letters as opposed to مرکبات 'compound letters.' As such the meaning would be :—

Any one who did not make himself conversant with the alphabet of the king's simple writing would never possess the aptitude for apprehending his more difficult and complex composition.

² در سرمه بفرمانیدن : An idiomatic expression meaning to cause sound sleep. سرمه : Antimony.

As a general rule one goes to sleep when antimony is applied to his eyes.

What the author means to say is that the eyes of the spectators are so much attracted by his penmanship that they do not go to sleep even at night, but remain open in the warm desire of getting a glimpse thereof.

critics is short. In imitating the style of writing he is ahead of all the ancient writers. All the poets have received the reward of their labours from him. His point satisfies the heart and his dot impresses the pupil of the eye).

Couplet

I am afraid that the pen may escape from his hand, and all of a sudden it may draw a line on all writings (i.e., cancel them).

Verses

In decorating the page of Time his attractive writing is like the soft hair on the cheek of the beloved.

In writing the heading he is so renowned that the cheek of the fair uses it as a model in practice for writing.

Quatrains

One who has not spoken of his pen is not an eloquent speaker; what pearls of meaning are there that have not been perforated by the point of his pen? If he wrote the word 'thorn' it pricked into the heart of the enemy; if he wrote the word 'flower' it blossomed on the face of the friend.

Those who are active in search for jewels leave off this idea and become seekers after his writing.

Writings in Khurāsān melted into water; otherwise the people of 'Iraq would have themselves gone there to wash them off with the water of shame.

The fourth Maulāna Farrukh Husain :

than whose painting nothing better can be imagined. The expert painters take pride in being his pupils, and having adopted the outline of his plain sketch as their model put their lives under obligation. From the sight of his black pen the green-haired (the beautiful) have learnt wiles. The freshness of his painting has

put the portrait of the beautiful to shame, and has thrown it into the whirlpool of the jealousy of his painting. He paints the musk-navel and people smell its fragrance; he sows tulip and they reap its colour (*i. e.*, he turns the effect into cause, and allegory into reality).

Poem

With the portraits of the heart-bewitching beauties he washed off the impression of patience (*i. e.*, the sight of his painting makes men lose all patience).

He represents the thorn so exquisitely that the eyes of the critics are pricked. If the waterfowl of his painting shakes its wings, the face of those present becomes wet with the falling of drops. After finishing the decoration of the flower he busied himself in depicting the voice of the nightingale. That magical painter has put in motion the breeze which throws aside the veil from the face of the beautiful.

The fifth is Khuddām Mullā Haider Zehnī, who with the saltishness of words and the sweetness of expression has been the first to place salt and sugar one over the other. The tree of his love has caused fibres to run into the hearts of men. He has got the writ of universal popularity attested by dignitaries. He is a trader in goods whose articles of abusive words are bought at the price of benediction, and pure coins are spent in the purchase of something defective. On account of the jealousy for his richly coloured speech the ruby is a worthless shell immersed in blood, and beside the sweetness of his speech the position of honey is like that of a saucer licked clean. In the case of one the fame of whose prose is so great it is easy to guess what the extent of his poetry should be.

The Sixth is Zuhārī

who admittedly occupies the prominent seat in the last row, and in point of humility is ahead of all who sit last. Though he

does not hold a rank worthy of being knitted in the thread of jewellers, yet in being a partner in decorating the *Rose-garden* of Abraham before now, and at present in spreading the Table of the Friend of God, he stands a peer and a match of the poet-laureate who has no parallel in the world. And Time in making this distinction has done no such act as can ever be found fault with. What is rejected by it is rejected by all, and what is accepted by it is accepted everywhere. Whomsoever it approved met with universal approval, and whatever it did not weigh proved light.

Masnawī

There is no error in the judgment of Time ; it never took this for that, nor that for this. In its hand there is a transparent mirror ; everything good or bad is reflected therein. If like gold iron be coined, even the tip of a blind man's finger would distinguish it. A boy of sweet movement with a sour look can know vinegar from milk.

On this basis it seemed inevitable for the sake of others that, having paid heed to my own self, I should not contain for joy on account of this connection,¹ and should not make the scale of my fellow-associate² weigh against the earth and the sky. Though in the garden of seventy years of age the tree of my intellect has cast off the petals of flowers, yet the case is not such that in the spring of the eulogy of my master the ripeness of old age may not be in working order, and the jollity of youth may not be laden with fruits.

¹ A reference to his connection with Qumī as co-partner and collaborator in producing this preface.

² طرف کرده عود : One whom I have won over to my side, i.e., my friend and associate, Malik Qumī.

Poetry

I am the fresh fruit of the tree of this old garden ; my juicy
verse left no lip dry. I write a letter on water with my finger,
and it is not washed off by the flood of a deep sea.

When I place the tray of my description in an assembly,
I put speech in the mouth of the faculty of speech.

What poet is there in this assembly who is not in love with
my verse.

I give the wine cup of *unity* in *multiplicity*; I place the snare
of multiplicity in seclusion.

My omen is auspicious for those who take omens; since from
my utterances they see their wishes fulfilled to their satisfaction.

The masters of the art of writing are so successful through
my poetic composition that the Dog-star is ready to sacrifice itself
to their prose.

My love-poems are pure gold and un-alloyed silver; the
runaway deer was charmed by them.

By my verses the lip of the musicians derives benefit; they
sing my praise in a loud voice.

The penitent recite my name; the drinkers themselves
belong to my class.

This preface is an open letter by Zuhūrī so the denizens of
the four quarters of the globe, that they may on every side,
having turned their faces to the Ka'ba of their desires, know
the place of Ibrāhīm to be their centre, and should not, through
negligence, make themselves deprived and beyond reach of the
pale of his patronage. Those who are well-to-do are enjoined to
go round the place of Abraham, and take a journey to Hedjaz,
but this place, on the contrary, is strongly recommended for

¹ An allusion to *مقام ابراهيم* 'the place of Abraham, in the sanc-
tuary of Ka'ba.

the visit of the indigent. Who has ever seen a purchaser whose earnest money exceeds the price of the commodity itself? Who ever has heard of a capitalist who has bought a grain of art for a treasure of gold? Polish your mirror (*i.e.*, acquire merit), so that he may take you in his arms by paying a sun (*i.e.*, purchase you at a high price); secure a green leaf so that, making you a nosegay, he may place you on his head. He graces with his praise everything according to the degree of its worth, except a verse containing the disparagement of his enemies which, however prominent and conspicuous, is utterly neglected by him without ever being seen or heard.

Hemistich

Why should not civility feel proud, for it has seen such a master?

In his love leave your native land, and do not remain in exile at home. Put the dust of his trodden path on your face, and live honourably. If luckily any one feels contented with the acquirement of wealth, rank, learning and art, he should, for the culture of good manners and excellent qualities, start on his way headlong, so that he may realise the extent of the King's pomp and grandeur, dignity and glory, and the degree of his decorum and modesty, patience and tolerance. One day, incidentally they were talking of mildness and forbearance (saying) that if kings had not the power of tolerance God would not have exalted them. We have been given superiority over the rest of the creation because we are not a step behind them in enduring severity. To be unable to buy much of the forgiveness of the small (*i.e.*, subordinates) is due to the smallness of the capital of greatness;¹ and to feed fat on the

¹ That is, to fail to forgive the faults of the subordinates is indicative of one's want of greatness.

lean is itself due to weakness. It should be noticed what the remedy of inflammation is. There is no time when pamphlet after pamphlet of such discourse was not being read, and there are not enough pages in the book to cover the subject-matter, and if any one during the whole of his lifetime talks of it he is sure to be always running at the starting point. Hence it is better to conclude it. The story is ended with this prayer.

Couplet.

As long as the Table of the Friend of God is brought into recollection in this guest-house, may Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh be the host of the people.

THE END

INDEX

A

‘Abbās (Shāh), 64, 65.
 ‘Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī,
 181, 227, 280, 281.
 ‘Abdul Hamīd Iāhaurī,
 280.
 ‘Abdullāh Khān ‘Uzbek,
 17.
 ‘Abdurrahīm, 36, 39,
 220, 221, 261, 263, 269.
 Abu Sahl ‘Abdul Mun‘im,
 246.
 Abū Tālib Kalīm, 295,
 300.
 Abul Faraj (Rūnī), 63.
 Abul Fazl, 8, 10, 13, 29,
 33, 34, 37, 39, 65, 66,
 219, 220, 225, 227, 230,
 232, 233, 234, 235,
 236, 237, 238, 243,
 244, 245, 246, 247,
 249, 250, 251, 255,
 261, 262, 263, 280,
 281, 282, 289, 290,
 301, 303, 304.
 Adham Khān, 27.
 Akbar, 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 17,
 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 31,
 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41,
 42, 45, 46, 64, 65, 66,

68, 88, 167, 171, 177,
 187, 220, 225, 226,
 229, 230, 231, 232,
 233, 235, 237, 238,
 239, 243, 245, 246,
 247, 248, 249, 250,
 251, 252, 255, 256,
 257, 259, 260, 261,
 263, 266, 268, 272,
 276, 282, 284.
 Akhtal, 157.
 Albīrūnī, 244.
 ‘Alī Qulī Wālih
 Dāghistānī, 74, 293,
 295, 298.
 Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, 37,
 181.
 Amīr ‘Abdul Hai, 3.
 Anīsī, 68, 183.
 Anwarī, 43, 68, 74, 106.
 ‘Arif Lāhijī, 103.
 Ashraf Khān, 39.
 Aurangzeb, 252, 277,
 280, 287, 288.

B

Bābū Hardās, 39.
 Bābā Tālib Isfā-
 hānī, 37.
 Bābur, 27.

- Badāūnī, 33, 34, 37,
 41, 42, 43, 46, 66,
 103, 177, 178, 180, 187,
 188, 218, 227, 236,
 248, 249, 255, 261,
 280, 301, 302, 303,
 304.
 Bairam Khān, 1, 3, 7,
 18, 22, 36, 225.
 Bakhtāwar Khān, 42,
 181.
 Bāz Bahādur, 38.
 Bihzād, 255.
 Bīrbal, 260.
 Bīrbar, 260, 261.
 Birhamdās, 260, 261.
 Bisāwan, 39, 256.
 Burhān Nizām Shāh,
 185, 196, 218.
 Burhānuddīn Jānam,
 (Shāh), 272.
- D**
- Daswant Rām, 39, 256.
- F**
- Faizī, 33, 34, 36, 39,
 40, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57,
 59, 62, 63, 64, 65,
 66, 103, 104, 177,
 178, 181, 187, 190,
 197, 212, 218, 223,
 230, 235, 237, 239,
 247, 249, 250, 261,
 263, 276, 298, 300,
 301, 303.
 Farishta, 37, 243, 280,
 282, 284. *
 Firdausī, 240, 244.
 Fughānī, 26.
- G**
- Ghairatī Shīrāzī, 36,
 183.
 Ghālib, 59, 73, 190, 191.
 Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī,
 38.
 Ghiyāsuddīn, 182, 183.
 Ghizālī, 36, 261, 300,
 303.
 Gulbadan Begam, 280.
- H**
- Hafiz, 43, 67, 96, 102.
 Hājī Sultān, 33.
 Hakīm Abul Fath
 (Gīlānī), 25, 38, 104,
 105, 106, 148, 152, 180.
 Hakīm Ahmad Tattavī,
 38.
 Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk
 Shīrāzī, 38.
 Hakīm 'Alī, 38.
 Hakīm Bīnā, 38.
 Hakīm Fathullāh Shīrāzī,
 38, 57.

Hakīm Humām, 25, 38,
39, 261.

Hakīm Masīh-ul-Mulk
Shīnāzī, 38.

Hakīm Misrī, 38.

Hakīm Muhammad Yūsuf
Bijāpūrī, 186.

Hakīm-ul-Mulk Gilānī,
38.

Hamīd Bhakkarī, 23.

Hamīda Bānū Begam, 4.

Harī Bans, 39, 256.

Hasan Beg Rūmlū, 280,
282.

Hassān, 129.

Hayātī Gilānī, 36, 180,
223.

Hemu, 3, 4, 232.

Hindāl (Mīrzā), 4.

Humāyūn, 1, 4, 5, 7,
10, 27, 232, 259.

Husain Kāshī, 103.

Husain Qulī Khān, 261.

Husain Sanā'ī, 178.

Huznī Isfahānī, 36.

I

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh,
189, 194, 210, 212,
294.

Imām Husain, 211.

Iskandar Munshī, 189,
194, 281, 294.

J

Jahāngīr, 31, 45, 68, 74,
227, 251, 258, 263,
280, 296.

Jalāluddīn Muhammad
Akbar, 4.

Jalāluddīn Rūmī, 11.

Jamshīd, 118, 126, 128,
158.

Jarū, 157.

Jauhar, 280.

K

Kai-Khusrau, 128, 158.

Kausari, 224.

Kēsar Dās, 37.

Khān-i-Atka, 27.

Khān-i-Khānān, 67, 68,
105, 106, 180, 209,
218, 220, 221, 224,
225, 226, 227, 228,
236, 237, 269.

Khān-i-Zamān, 17, 18,
19, 20.

Khāqānī, 107, 108.

Khizr, 26.

Khusrau (Amīr), 39, 44,
223, 300.

Khwāja 'Abdussamad,
39, 255, 256.

Khwāja Amīnā, 19.

Khwāja Hasan, 300.

Khwāja Husain Mervī,
34, 300.

Khwāja Muhammad
Sharif, 39.
Khwāja Mu‘inuddīn, 28,
262.
Kufwī, 223.

L

Lutf ‘Alī Beg Azar,
193, 194, 281, 290,
301, 302, 303.

M

Mahmūd, 252.
Mahvī, 36.
Mailī Hirawī, 36.
Malik Mahmūd Piyārū,
38.
Malik Qumī, 36, 68, 75,
177, 187, 189, 294,
300, 303.
Mān Singh, 262, 263.
Maulānā ‘Abdul Haq,
272.
Maulānā ‘Abdul Qādir,
6.
Maulānā ‘Abdullāh
Sultānpūrī, 37.
Maulānā Bā Yazīd, 6,
7, 280.
Maulānā Darwīsh
Husain, 183, 184.
Maulānā Ilāh
Dād Sultānpūrī, 37.

Maulānā Jamāl Lahaurī,
37.
Maulānā Jamāluddīn
Muhammad, 103.
Maulānā Mīr Kalān, 38.

Maulānā Mīrzā Samar-
qandī, 38.

Mīr ‘Abdul Hī Mash-
hadī, 36.

Mīr ‘Abdul Latīf
Qazwīnī, 6.

Mīr Abdullāh Wasfī,
39.

Mīr Bakāwal, 261.

Mīr Fathullāh Shīrāzī,
38.

Mīr Haidar Kāshī, 258.

Mīr Mu‘izzī, 224.

Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī Lūdhiyā-
nawī, 37.

Mīrzā ‘Alāuddaula Qaz-
wīnī, 14.

Mīrzā Asad Beg, 48.

Mīrzā Husain, 183.

Mīrzā Jalāl Asīr, 73.

Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī,
281.

Mīrzā Tāhir Wahīd, 288.

Miyān Hātim Sanbhalī,
37.

Miyān Ilāh Dād Lakh-
nawī, 37.

Miyān Jamāl Khān, 37.

Miyān Lāl (Kalāwant), 39, 220.
 Miyān Mauzūn, 39.
 Miyān Wajīhuddīn Ahmadābādī, 37.
 Muhammad 'Alī Taghā'i, 6.
 Muhammad Husain, 67.
 Muhammad Husain Azād, 269.
 Muhammad Husain Kashmirī, 39, 256.
 Muhammad Qudratullāh Gulshan, 181.
 Muhtasham Kāshī, 103, 183.
 Mullā 'Alī Ahmad, 256.
 Mullā Du Piyāzā, 39, 259.
 Mullā Ibrāhīm, 34.
 Mullā 'Isāmuddīn Ibrāhīm, 6, 7.
 Mullā Nūrī, 272, 276.
 Mullā Pīr Muhammad, 6.
 Mullā Shāh Muhammad, 34.
 Mullā Shīrī, 33, 34.
 Mullā Tālib Isfahānī, 25.
 Mullā Wahīd, 64.
 Murād, 31, 88.
 Muzaffar Khān, 261.

N

Naqīb Khān, 33, 34.

Nau'ī, 223, 224.
 Nawāb Mīr Gaiyāsuddīn Mīr Miran, 182, 183.
 Nazārī, 36, 59, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 82, 88, 96, 102, 181, 215, 223, 227, 228, 300.
 Ni'mat Khān-i-'Alī, 280.
 Nishānī, 36, 39.
 Nizām of Hyderābād, 252.
 Nizāmī, 43, 44.
 Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, 37, 227, 280.
 Nūruddīn (Mullā), 181.
 Nūrul Haq, 37.

O

Ouchī Kākā, 1.

P

Prince Salīm, 165, 167, 169, 171, 263.

Q

Qā'anī, 86, 88.
 Qarārī Gilānī, 36.
 Qāsim Arsalān Mashhadī, 37.
 Qāsim Kāhī, 300.
 Qāzī Jalāluddīn Multānī, 38.
 Qāzī Mubārak Gūpā-mawī, 37.

Qāzī Nūrullāh Shūstārī,
37.

Qāzī Sadruddīn Jālan-
darī, 37.

Qulij Khān, 23, 24.

R

Rahīm, 225.

Rahiman, 269.

Rafī'ī Kāshī, 36.

Rāja Bhagwān Dās, 262.

Rāja Bhāgwant Dās, 31.

Rāja Bihāra Mal, 262.

Rāja Birbal, 39, 247, 259.

Rāja Bir Singh, 238.

Rāja Mān Singh, 39, 261.

Rāja Todar Mal, 39, 261.

Rām Dās Kalāwant, 38,
220.

Rang Sen, 220.

Rasmī Qalandar, 221.

Rizā'ī, 183.

Rizā Qulī Khān Hidā-
yet, 193, 194, 281, 290,
296, 303.

Rūmī, 64.

S

Sa'di, 139, 201, 212.

Sadr Jahān, 38.

Sā'ib, 39, 73, 190, 194.

202, 294, 297, 298, 300.

Sairafī Kashmīrī, 36.

Salīm, 238, 258.

Sanā'ī (Mashhadi), 36,
177, 178.

Sanjar Kāshī, 37, 224.

Sayyid Muhammad, 297.

Shāh 'Abbās, 40, 73, 184,
185, 189, 194, 197, 212,
224, 281, 288, 294,
298.

Shāh Jahān, 40, 202, 277,
295, 296.

Shāh Tahmāsp, 284.

Shaikh 'Abdul Haq
Haqqī Dehlevī, 37.

Shaikh 'Abdunnabī, 37.

Shaikh Abul Fath Thā-
nesarī, 37.

Shaikh Ahmadi Fayyāz
Ambahtiwāl, 37.

Shaikh 'Alī Akbar Jāmī,
4, 5.

Shaikh Bhikan, 37.

Shaikh Husain 'Alī Mū-
salī, 37.

Shaikh Ilāh Diya Khairā-
bādī, 37.

Shaikh Jalāluddīn Thāne-
sarī, 37.

Shaikh Mubārak Nāgorī,
37, 39, 230, 236, 250.

Shaikh Muhammad
Ghausī Mandwī, 74.

Shaikh Nizāmuddīn
Auliya, 227.

Shaikh Sa'duddaula, 37.
 Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī,
 38.
 Shakībī (Isfahānī), 36,
 68, 223.
 Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī,
 245.
 Shiblī, 180, 227, 228.
 Shihāb Khān, 261.
 Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, 232.
 Subhān Khān, 38.
 Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil
 Shāh, 68.
 Sultān Muhammad Qulī
 Qutub Shāh, 272, 275.
 Sultān Muza'far Gujarāti,
 225.
 Sūr Dās, 36, 220, 229,
 266, 267, 268.

T

Tālib Āmulī, 300.
 Tān Sen (Mīrzā), 38, 39,
 220, 261, 263.
 Taqī Auhadī, 75, 181.
 Timūr, 235, 245.
 Todar Mal (Rāja), 261.
 Tulsī Dās, 36, 219, 220,
 225, 229, 266, 268.

U

'Urfī, 36, 68, 71, 73, 103,
 104, 106, 107, 114, 119,
 128, 156, 158, 159, 171,
 173, 174, 177, 178, 179,
 180, 181, 209, 214,
 215, 223, 227, 296,
 298, 300, 303.

W

Wabshī Yezdī, 103, 182,
 183.
 Wālih Dāghistānī, 188.

Y

Yādgar Mīrzā, 13.

Z

Zahīr Faryābī, 107, 108.
 Zangī, 64.
 Zuhūrī, 36, 68, 75, 173,
 174, 177, 181, 186,
 187, 188, 189, 190, 191,
 192, 193, 194, 197,
 201, 202, 214, 215, 218,
 289, 290, 292, 294,
 298, 300, 301, 303.

OPINIONS

**Prof. F. W. Buckler, Supervisor to the Board of
Research Studies in the University of Cambridge :**

TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE,

6th June, 1925.

Mr. Muhammad 'Abdul Ghani, M.A. (Allahabad), has asked me for a testimonial on his work here in Cambridge.

It gives me much pleasure to state that I have known him for the past two years, and have been responsible for the supervision of his work under the newly inaugurated Board of Research Studies. He has worked very hard and examined the records of his subject with exemplary diligence and honesty, and through that has developed a sound sense of scholarly responsibility combined with definite originality, which has enabled him to elucidate a good many points in a subject full of difficulties.

The subject he has chosen indicates a very high courage. It has too long been left almost untouched, and to his forthcoming work on "The History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court," *Indian scholars will be indebted in much the same way as Persian scholars are indebted to Professor E.G. Browne.* He came to England at his own expense, and

he has displayed here an unremitting devotion and zeal to a great subject which he has handled, as his work will show, in a masterly manner.

I hope that his work will obtain recognition in the way of promotion in India, either in the form of promotion to the Imperial Service or by his appointment to a full Professorship. India has need of men qualified by Research to direct and inspire research, and it is with full confidence that I recommend Mr. Muḥammad 'Abdul Ghanī. I wish him every success.

OPINIONS ON '*BABUR*' AND '*HUMĀYŪN*'

**From the Private Secretary to His
Excellency the Governor, C. P. and Berar, to the
Principal, Morris College, Nagpur.**

GOVERNOR'S CAMP, CENTRAL PROVINCES,

12th April, 1930.

DEAR MR. CHESHIRE,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th April, forwarding the presentation copies of the first two volumes of Professor M.A. Ghanī's book.

His Excellency is sure that he will find much of interest in the work, and is looking forward to reading it.

He desires that his congratulations and best thanks be conveyed to Professor Ghanī.

**Nawāb Sir Amīn Jang Bahādur, K.C.I.E., LL.D.,
Private Secretary to His Exalted Highness
The Nizām of Hyderabad :**

KING KOTHI, HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

28th December, 1929.

DEAR PROFESSOR,

thank you for a copy of your History of Persian Literature at the Mughal Court, which I am reading with very great interest and pleasure. It is most appropriately inscribed to the memory of Prof. Browne, as it is a brilliant continuation of his brilliant History of Persian Literature of the Tārtar period.

**Dr. R. A. Nicholson, Litt.D., University
Professor, Cambridge :**

12 HARVEY ROAD, CAMBRIDGE,

13th February, 1930.

DEAR PROFESSOR GHANI,

I am much obliged to you for sending me a copy of your book, from which the general reader can obtain a good idea of the history and influence of Persian literature in India during the period covered. I hope the publication of Part II will not be long delayed.

Sir Ibrāhīm Rahimtoola, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Bombay :

ISMA'IL BUILDING, HOENBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

20th March, 1930.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge with thanks receipt of Parts I and II of your book "A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court."

I wish to congratulate you on the great ability which you have shown in dealing with a very complicated subject. You are specially to be congratulated for the great research into the subject which your writings indicate.

**Nawāb Mirzā Yār Jang Sami'ullāh Bēg Bahādur,
Chief Justice, Hyderābād, Deccan :**

MY DEAR 'ABDŪL GHANI,

How good of you to send me a copy of your valuable book "A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court." It is unique in its character. It is a monument of your literary merits and studies. I shall certainly go through it and be benefited by the same.

**Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, Ph.D., Bar-at-Law,
Lahore :**

LAHORE,
15th March, 1930.

MY DEAR MR. GHANI,

Thank you so much for your kindly sending me your volume on Humāyūn as well as that on Bābur. I find them interesting reading, and I have no doubt that the series you have undertaken to write will supply a long-felt want. It is a great pleasure to me to see young scholars of India active in research work.

**The Hon'ble Justice Sir S. M. Sulaimān,
LL.D., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.**

ALLAHABAD,

Dated 14th April, 1930.

DEAR MR. 'ABDUL GHANI,

It is very kind of you to send me the two volumes of your 'History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court.' I am reading them with very great pleasure indeed. They embody the results of considerable research on your part. I have no doubt they will be found very valuable. This will be a unique history which, I am sure, will be highly appreciated by the scholars of Persian.

**Dr. M. B. Rehman, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the
Department of Persian and Urdu, Lucknow
University (now Principal, Ismā'īl College,
Andherī, Bombay):**

BADSHAH BAGH, LUCKNOW,

28th November, 1929.

MY DEAR PROF. GHANI,

I thank you for the copy of Vol. I of your 'History of Persian Language and Literature in India.' It was a pleasure to read through the book. It is a pioneer work in this field. I congratulate you on the attempt, and sincerely wish that you will find time to complete it. The history of Urdu language and literature, which finds a place in your scholarly work, had all its material scattered. The students of Urdu will be greatly obliged to you for summing it up so beautifully:

The Meeting of the Committee of the Courses and Studies in Persian comes off in February next, and I shall place your book before it for consideration.

**Dr. Muhammad Iqbāl, M.A., Ph.D., University
Professor, Punjab :**

ORIENTAL COLLEGE, LAHORE,

17th December, 1929.

DEAR PROFESSOR GHANI,

Many thanks for the copy of your valuable book "A History of Persian Literature at the Mughal Court." I have gone through it with profit and pleasure. Let the remaining volumes come out and we shall then consider the entire work for recommendation as a prescribed course of study for some of our Degree examinations. We hope that by October, 1930, the whole work will be completely published.

Dr. A. H. Mansūr, M.A., D.Phil.

BERLIN, HERBERTSTRASSE, 7.

2nd April, 1930.

DEAR PROF. GHANI,

I thank you very much for sending me the two volumes of your 'History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court.' It is a work of remarkable ability and research, and recounts in great detail the relations between the Persian Persian and the Indian

Persian. It supplements and corrects in many curious ways the inadequate and faulty narratives of some of the responsible Persian and English authors of the 19th Century. It is indeed a very real and very valuable contribution to oriental learning.

Mr. G. K. Nariman (Journalist)
Editor, "Irān League"

3RD VICTORIA CROSS ROAD, MARGAON, P.O.
 BOMBAY, 10.

DEAR PROF. GHANI,

I have been shown your "History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court." I find it most interesting. So far as I know, you are the first authority to point out the importance of Persian literature developed in India. Unfortunately the tendency of the Persians from of old has been to disparage the Persian literature of India. But you have shown discriminating and just appreciation.

The Calcutta Review,
February, 1930

This is a welcome addition to other books already existing on the subject.

After the publication of *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam* by Shibli Nu'mānī there was a great move to construct a literary

history of the Persian language on the lines similar to *Shi'r-ul-Ajam* under the title of *Shi'r-ul-Hind*, so as to determine what part India played in the growth of Persian language and literature.

The author also felt a real need that India should have a good history of the development of the Persian language of its own. With this object in view he undertook to accomplish this task, and has finished his labour, which is going to be published in *three* parts, covering the development of Persian literature under Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar. The author in dealing with the subject has attempted to show to what extent Hindi and Prakrits have influenced the Persian language in India. He has given a few instances of novel but graceful blending of Persian with Hindi from the works of famous Persian poets such as Manuchehri and Hakim Sinā'i.

He states that Persian language and idiom was well preserved in India till about the 19th century, but since then it began to lose its ground, and intermixture began to creep in, and there is now a great divergence between the Persian of Persia and the Persian of India.

The book has many interesting informations and extracts from original sources. It is nicely got up and beautifully bound. We hope the other instalments of this series will be more interesting and helpful to the students of Persian and Urdu literature alike.

Note.—The following letter of the late Professor E. G. Browne, mentioning the author's third and last Essay on *Akbar*, which was then in the course of preparation, after the completion of the Essays on *Bābur* and *Humāyūn* already seen by him, is reproduced here in facsimile. He read *Akbar* only in parts, as the work progressed, during his protracted illness, and hoped to go through it again, when completed, after his recovery. Unfortunately his illness proved fatal, and the author did not get the benefit of his wise and judicious criticism which is a matter of deep regret to the writer.

Jan 24. 1925

FIRWOOD,
TRUMPINGTON ROAD,
CAMBRIDGE.

Dear Mr. Abdul-Ghani:

Many thanks for your kind
letter & confidence. I am much
better, but more limited in my
activities by doctor's orders. I
am very sorry not to be lec-
-turing this term.

I hope to see you soon,
which sounds very interesting.
Before long. As I give thought, I
hope to be allowed to see more
people. At present I can only see

a few each day.

I had the enclosed letter (not
 dated back) yesterday, and
 suggested you as the most suitable
 person to do this for a 2 weeks,
 if you are able to spare the
 time. (As if you hear from the
 lady, you will know how, &
 come about)

I remain,

Yours sincerely

Edwardy Browne

